# THE HELSINKI PROCESS AND EAST WEST RELATIONS: PROGRESS IN PERSPECTIVE

## A Report on the Positive Aspects of the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act
## 1975 — 1984

Compiled by the Staff of the
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# FOREWORD

This report is -- as so much of the work of the Commission has been -- unprecedented and, from the perspective of many close observers, unexpected. The Commission has, after all, been in the forefront of the consistent criticism of Soviet and East European failure to live up to their Helsinki commitments, particularly in the area of human rights and humanitarian concerns. And the Commission led the way toward ensuring that the periodic Helsinki review meetings became forums for candid, critical assessments of the performance records of each Helsinki signatory country.

Other important contributions to the Helsinki dialogue initiated by the Commission have been the expanded and intense participation of Members of Congress in official delegations to international CSCE meetings and the positive impact of Commission staff participation both in the formulation and execution of U.S. Government policies in CSCE. In addition, it has been upon the recommendation -- indeed, at the insistence -- of the Commission that private citizens and representatives of Helsinki-related non-governmental organizations have been included in official Helsinki proceedings.

And, of course, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe has been the untiring and relentless champion of those courageous souls in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other Warsaw Pact countries who have dared to challenge their own government authorities to honor the pledges they made at Helsinki in 1975.

As Chairman of the Commission since its inception in 1976, I have been extremely proud of the staff. Their dedication and scholarship has consistently placed the Commission on the cutting edge of new developments in the Helsinki process. The staff, as always, has done a first-rate job on this report. Utilizing their experience and expertise in CSCE, as well as their academic and writing skills, they have produced an excellent product. And, once again, their original research has been as thorough and as complete as possible on a highly complex subject.

We hope that this report -- "The Helsinki Process and East West Relations: Progress in Perspective" -- will contribute to the expanding body of information and documentation which can ultimately be part of a firm foundation for improvements in East-West relations based on the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

DANTE B. FASCELL
Chairman

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### Background on the Commission and the Helsinki Process

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), an independent advisory agency, was created by Public Law 94-304, signed June 3, 1976. The legislation authorized and directed the Commission to monitor the actions of the signatories which reflect compliance with or violation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), with particular regard to the provisions relating to cooperation in humanitarian fields.

Chaired by Rep. Dante B. Fascell (D-FL) since its inception, the Commission is composed of six members of the Senate, six members of the House of Representatives and one member each from the Departments of State, Defense and Commerce.

The CSCE Final Act was signed by the leaders of 33 East and West European nations, Canada and the United States in Helsinki, Finland on August 1, 1975. The comprehensive document contains a broad range of political, military, economic and humanitarian commitments. Numerous cooperative measures -- ranging from military security to economic cooperation to cultural exchanges -- aimed at improving East-West relations are endorsed in the Final Act. Equally important is the pledge each participating nation made to respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of its citizens. While the Final Act is not a legally binding agreement, it has, as former President Gerald Ford pointed out prior to his departure for the Helsinki summit, "important moral and political ramifications."

A unique feature of the Final Act is its section on follow-up. The 35 CSCE states agreed to meet periodically to review implementation of the Final Act and explore ways to improve cooperation. The first such follow-up meeting was held in Belgrade in 1977 and 1978; Madrid was the site of the second review meeting from 1980 to 1983. A third follow-up meeting is scheduled to convene in Vienna in November 1986. A number of subsidiary, or experts, meetings on specific topics have been held in the period between the main review conferences. This series of multilateral meetings is known as the CSCE, or Helsinki, process.

### Origin and Aim of the Report

Previous Commission reports have endeavored to document and publicize violations of the Helsinki Final Act wherever they were committed. The Commission, in 1979, took a close look at U.S. compliance with the Final Act's provisions. This latter study, certainly the most thorough and comprehensive self-examination undertaken by any signatory country, addressed all of the criticisms and questions about U.S. compliance raised by Soviet and East European representatives about U.S. compliance. Since its creation in 1976, the Commission has been in the forefront of developing the CSCE process. Through study missions, hearings, translations, research, speeches, articles, newsletters and periodic reports, the Commission has compiled the most thorough historical record of the Helsinki process. This report, on the positive results of the process is, once again, unprecedented and perhaps will be controversial as well. The Commission staff believes, however, that it is important to look at all sides of the story in order to have a comprehensive view. Although this report can in no way be said to provide a "balance" to the serious human rights violations in the Soviet Union and other East European states, it does attempt to document, as completely as possible, the positive side of the Helsinki balance sheet. It should be read with the other reports in mind.

Since its establishment less than one year after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the primary focus of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe has been a critical one -- to point out shortcomings in implementation of the Final Act and to identify areas for improvement. In accordance with its legislative mandate to monitor and promote compliance with the Helsinki Agreement, the Commission from the beginning saw its main task as one of documentation of failures in implementation as a means of spurring the delinquent parties to take remedial action. This has been particularly true in the case of the Soviet Union and other East European nations where violations of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, especially in the area of human rights and humanitarian cooperation, has been most egregious. The record of these countries has warranted this critical focus. The Soviet Union has systematically harassed, threatened, repressed, and imprisoned citizens whose only crimes were to seek to exercise those rights supposedly guaranteed by the Helsinki Final Act and by their own laws and constitution. The authorities in Czechoslovakia have treated human rights activists in a similar manner. Violations of these same Helsinki rights have occurred regularly in East Germany, Bulgaria and Romania. The military suppression of the Polish people and the Soviet involvement in that crackdown has been universally deplored by civilized nations throughout the world. And, of course, the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and the brutal occupation of that sovereign nation by Soviet troops has been condemned by the international community.

The Commission long ago decided that, for the Helsinki process to have real meaning, the test of progress or success must be seen in the context of how the governments of the member states behave toward their own citizens. In the U.S.S.R., 44 members of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups who attempted to promote adherence to the Helsinki pledges are today in Soviet prisons, labor camps or remote Siberian exile.

Three died in 1984 while imprisoned. Emigration of Soviet Jews has plummeted to its lowest level in over a decade, Western radio broadcasts are jammed, forced russification in the Baltic states and Ukraine has been intensified and harassment of religious believers continues unabated. Nobel Peace Prize laureate Andrei Sakharov and his wife Elena Bonner are held captive in the closed city of Gorky, cut off from their family and friends. In other East European countries as well, disregard for the promises of Helsinki is all too evident. Romania maintains a repressive internal regime. The Hungarian intellectuals involved in unofficial publishing have been targeted for harassment, particularly in the last few years. The G.D.R. maintains tight restrictions on the movement of most of its citizens and Bulgaria continues to exercise virtually total control over the lives of its people. The free trade union Solidarity remains outlawed in Poland, its leaders and supporters subjected to harassment for continuing to advocate civil and workers' rights, and Charter '77 activists are still arrested and imprisoned in Czechoslovakia.

Nevertheless, with all its shortcomings, what began in Helsinki in 1975 is still perceived by most Western participating states and many non-governmental sources as worth continued support. It is the purpose of this report to explore the reasons for this and to attempt to document some of the concrete benefits which the process has produced for the West.

Commissioners and staff have long been aware of some positive developments spawned by the Helsinki process. In the summer of 1976, the Commission first launched into the CSCE arena with an intensive orientation and study mission to the capitals of Western Europe. (The East European countries had refused to receive the Commission). During this mission, which admittedly took place at a time of high hope for the Helsinki process and East-West relations in general, the Commission representatives heard accounts from West European leaders and others of concrete benefits in the economic, cultural and even political spheres which they alleged could be directly attributed to the influence of the Helsinki Final Act.

It is these examples of positive CSCE developments which the Commission staff has attempted to bring together in this report. In the final analysis, of course, the report is an examination of each Western country's perceptions of the benefits it has derived from the Helsinki process. It is not meant to be a self-serving compilation of actions taken by each of them to show their fidelity to the Final Act.The end result does not, of course, counterweigh the negative side of the CSCE scale which, due to continued violations by the Soviet Union and others, seriously threatens the long-term viability of the entire CSCE process itself.

## Framework of the Report

In seeking to record the positive accomplishments of the Helsinki process, the Commission has adopted an East-West focus. The main reason for this is that the Final Act itself is preeminently designed to improve East-West relations and foster detente. This is not to say that the CSCE process has not resulted in any positive developments outside the East-West context, but the Commission staff feels that these benefits are peripheral to the overriding aims of the Final Act. This report, therefore, attempts to chronicle the positive experiences of the Western signatories, including the United States, in their bilateral relations with Eastern signatory nations.

The period of East-West detente during most of the 1970s set the stage for the signing of the Helsinki Final Act and for many of the achievements that can be associated with it. The CSCE gave practical expression to detente and at the same time became its principal symbol. Up until 1979, the conditions for positive strides in East-West relations in the context of the CSCE were singularly auspicious. From the end of that year, with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the atmosphere soured quickly and, if anything, has deteriorated further with the developments in Poland and the full-scale campaign against human rights in the Soviet Union. The different assessment of benefits derived from the CSCE process during these two distinct periods is reflected in the report.

## Preparation of the Report

In gathering material for this report, the Commission contacted the governments of 28 of the 35 signatory CSCE states. The Commission did not include the seven countries of the Warsaw Pact in this survey for two reasons. First, these states, for the most part, do not recognize the Commission officially and have shown hostility toward its activities. Secondly, informal soundings with several of these countries indicated they would not be cooperative if asked, even though they expressed some enthusiasm for the purpose of the report. Contacts with the other 28 nations were made both through representative offices in Washington as well as in capitals abroad through the good offices of the State Department and American Embassies. In addition, Commission staff members undertook study missions to a selected group of Western capitals to stimulate the broadest possible participation in the project. In each of these capitals, staff members held extensive discussions with government officials and representatives of non-governmental organizations regarding the positive aspects of the CSCE process. In addition, in Brussels, staff members met with representatives of NATO, the North Atlantic Assembly and the European Community. Each of the 28 governments canvassed were furnished a detailed questionnaire covering all areas of the Final Act which they were asked to complete in as much detail as possible. In the case of the United States and some West European countries, this effort was supplemented by intensive staff research and contact with government agencies and numerous private organizations.

In general, the approach of the Commission to positive achievements has been to focus on quantitative and qualitative improvements in East-West relations since 1975 including the establishment of new activities and the expansion of bilateral contacts. We have tried to avoid a mere recitation of ongoing activities already in place before 1975 which show no appreciable growth during the post-Helsinki years although, for comparison purposes, there is occasional recourse to earlier years. We have included positive developments which occurred during only part of the period since the signing of the Final Act. In an assessment of the overall benefits produced by the CSCE process, it seems reasonable to include all positive developments, even if some were short-lived.

In order to produce a more readable and, hopefully, useful narrative, the report has been organized in accordance with the sections of the Final Act rather than country by country. Unless otherwise noted in the text, the term "Eastern Europe" includes the Soviet Union.

## Major Problems

The main problem the Commission faced in preparing the report was determining what developments could actually be traced to the influence of the Helsinki process. We found that very few events could be attributed wholly to this source but that a great number of developments could be reasonably assumed to have been positively affected by it. In essence, the Helsinki Final Act seemed to be more the catalyst than the prime mover in improvements in East-West relations. Nevertheless, the influence brought to bear by the Helsinki process clearly appears to have provided a positive push to a vast range of East-West interactions since 1975. Consequently, the approach adopted in this report is to cite as positive contributions all developments which can be plausibly seen as having been influenced in some measure by the Helsinki process.

A second major problem confronting the Commission derives from the widely-ranging perceptions of the CSCE governments as to what constitutes a Helsinki-related benefit. Views on this question included not only the more expected categories such as expanded economic cooperation, growth of cultural exchanges and increased emigration rates but also somewhat less seemingly positive but important benefits such as a greater opportunity to expose the human rights failings of the Soviet Union and other East European nations. The Commission decided to include all such observations in the report since it is really up to the individual CSCE states themselves to decide what they reap as Helsinki benefits.

Another problem which the Commission encountered was the somewhat surprising reluctance of several CSCE states to cooperate. This reluctance came as a surprise because most, if not all, of the Western and Neutral Non-aligned (NNA) states of the CSCE view the process positively and consider it worth continuing and even being expanded. However, for a variety of reasons -- "the information requested is confidential"; "providing such information would run counter to our status of neutrality"; "sensitive information of this kind cannot be attributed to our government"; "we do not have the personnel to dig out the information requested" -- the Commission was unable to obtain the full cooperation it expected. Faced with these objections, the Commission staff did its best to ensure the largest measure of cooperation possible with the maximum number of West European states. The success of these efforts was mixed. While most countries eventually cooperated in varying degrees with the project, a few made no contributions to the report.

The Commission is, of course, grateful to those governments which provided information and assisted the Commission staff in its research. The Commission would also like to acknowledge the valuable contribution made to the report by numerous private, non-governmental sources, a listing of which is included in the Appendix to this report. Finally, the Commission acknowledges the Department of State, the United States Information Agency and the Language Services Section of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress for their assistance.

# CHAPTER II

## BASKET I: PRINCIPLES

### Introduction

The "Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations Between Participating States" stands at the heart of the Helsinki Final Act. These ten principles set forth basic standards by which the signatory states agree to behave in their relations with one another, as well as the spirit in which they will conduct their relations with states not signatory to the Helsinki Agreement. As such the Declaration can be considered the most important political element in the entire Helsinki document.

The ten principles in the Declaration express precepts of international behavior to which Western signatories of the Final Act theoretically have long subscribed and which derive, in the main, from principles found in the Charter of the United Nations. As a largely straightforward reaffirmation of accepted norms of international relations, the majority of the principles only require participating states to refrain from certain actions for their fulfillment. The principles in this category are: Principle I, sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; Principle II, refraining from the threat or use of force; Principle III, inviolability of frontiers; Principle IV, territorial integrity of States; Principle V, peaceful settlement of disputes; Principle VI, non-intervention in internal affairs; and Principle X, fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law. By their very nature, implementation of these principles occurs in normal diplomatic and commercial dealings between states.

The other principles -- Principle VII, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; Principle VIII, equal rights and self-determination of peoples; and Principle IX, cooperation among states -- are more complex and require positive, specific actions to bring about their implementation.

### Public Diplomacy and the Helsinki Principles

As could be anticipated, the provisions of the Declaration of Principles have not been fully implemented since the signing of the Final Act in 1975. The Declaration has, however, helped to focus public attention on three issues -- human rights abuses, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and events in Poland during the past several years -- which constitute instances of non-compliance. The principles have supplied the participating states with a justification and a useful diplomatic tool with which to call public attention to these and other violations of the Final Act. They have also constituted an international standard by which participating states can be held accountable. According to the U.S. Department of State, the CSCE principles and the process originated at Helsinki have helped to establish human rights as a legitimate issue of international concern, and have provided additional instruments for calling attention to and promoting greater respect for such rights. In this sense, the entire process of CSCE has been a source of hope to citizens of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The comprehensive, probing review of implementation held during the follow-up conferences in Belgrade from 1977-78 and in Madrid from 1980-83, clearly established the legitimacy of the human rights issue in East-West discourse. It is now generally recognized by the CSCE signatories that the manner in which a state treats its own citizens is of legitimate concern to all the other states in the Helsinki process and an integral element in building confidence and security among them.

The mere holding of the Belgrade and Madrid Review Meetings created political pressures which helped bring about some progress in human rights in the nations of Eastern Europe. These countries, wishing to diminish potentially embarrassing criticisms of human rights violations, took steps -- some significant, others more cosmetic -- prior to the review meetings to ease repressive or restrictive practices which might have been subject to criticism during the implementation review. In some countries, political prisoners were given amnesty, political dissidents permitted to emigrate and a number of long-standing family reunification cases favorably resolved. This pressure for compliance, induced by periodic review meetings such as Belgrade and Madrid, has made the Helsinki process a significant and unique tool of international diplomacy through which the violators of human rights have been held accountable for those actions which contradict the Final Act.

## Political Relations and Contacts with Eastern Europe

According to the Department of State, among the political benefits of the CSCE process is that it "has provided a flexible, nearly continuous series of forums for dialogue on a wide range of issues among the participating states. The associated increase in bilateral and multilateral intergovernmental contacts has made a contribution to more regular and stable East-West relations, despite continuing major political differences...this channel of political dialogue with the East has remained open when other forums have been reduced in status or suspended."

The Helsinki process has also provided a valuable multilateral framework which has encouraged bilateral discussions and high-level contacts between the United States and the nations of Eastern Europe other than the Soviet Union. The commitments undertaken at Helsinki -- contained in the principles and, indeed, throughout the Final Act -- have facilitated the United States' pursuit of a policy of differentiation in its relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. The Helsinki framework has enabled East European nations to engage in bilateral endeavors with the West, including the United States, that were not previously possible and has given the East European states marginally greater room for maneuver vis-a-vis the Soviet Union in conducting their foreign and domestic policy. This limited increase in flexibility has been demonstrated in the series of bilateral meetings covering the broad range of CSCE issues, including human rights, held between the United States and many of the East European countries since the end of the Belgrade Meeting in 1978.

These bilateral consultations provided the framework for a broader and more in-depth exchange of views on both bilateral and international issues than would ever have been possible before the initiation of the CSCE process. For the most part, these talks were held between the Belgrade and Madrid Meetings as part of the bilateral approach to implementation called for in the Follow-up section of the Helsinki Final Act. A new round of bilaterals is expected to take place as the next review conference in Vienna, scheduled to begin in November 1986, approaches.

Following is a listing of the bilateral CSCE talks held between the United States and the countries of Eastern Europe between the Belgrade and Madrid Meetings. The United States delegation to these talks usually consisted of representatives of the CSCE Commission as well as of the Department of State:

-- September 1978: United States visited Hungary and Romania;
-- November 1978: United States visited G.D.R., Poland, and Bulgaria;
-- November 1979: Bulgaria visited the United States;
-- March 1979: G.D.R. visited the United States;
-- March 1979: Poland visited the United States;
-- April 1979: Romania visited the United States; and
-- May 1979: Hungary visited the United States.

A unique and direct result of the human rights dimension of the Final Act were the two bilateral roundtable discussions on human rights issues held between the United States and Romania. Conducted in Bucharest in February 1980 and in Washington in February 1984, these human rights roundtables provided valuable opportunities to discuss CSCE implementation and to further mutual understanding between participating states. Use of the human rights roundtable format was specifically endorsed by the Madrid Concluding Document.

In addition to these bilateral U.S.-East European talks on CSCE issues, the Helsinki era ushered in a series of high-level talks between the United States and Eastern Europe in which CSCE issues were discussed at length. These include the visit of Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Nagy to Washington in June 1978, the visit of Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Tsvetkov in November 1978, the visit of U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs George Vest to Budapest and Sofia in October 1979 and the visit of U.S. CSCE Ambassador Max Kampelman to Bucharest in April 1981.

Two significant bilateral acts, consistent with the spirit of Principle IX, cooperation among states, and affecting the political relations of the U.S. with two East European nations were facilitated by the climate of cooperation established by Helsinki. The first occurred in January 1978, when the United States formally returned to Hungary the historic crown of St. Stephen which had been in American hands since the closing months of World War II. The return of this crown, the symbol of the Hungarian nation for centuries, has undoubtedly helped contribute to the development of normal and friendly relations between the United States and Hungary.

The other event took place at the end of 1981, when the United States and Czechoslovakia ended a controversy dating back to 1948 by signing an agreement on the return to Czechoslovakia of 18.4 tons of gold. This gold had been seized from Czechslovakia by the Germans during the Nazi occupation of that country in World War II and was recovered by the United States at the end of the war. The United States sequestered the gold in 1948 when the Communists took power in Czechoslovakia and seized private property including the holdings of Americans and Czechoslovaks who had fled from Nazi occupation and later became American citizens. Under the terms of the agreement, Czechoslovakia agreed to pay $81.5 million to American claimants and, in exchange, the gold, estimated to be worth $250 million, was returned.

## The Helsinki Monitoring Movement

Following the signing of the Final Act, Principle VII, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, unexpectedly sparked a new awareness of and demand for basic human rights throughout the Soviet Union and the rest of Eastern Europe. The mass circulation of the text of the Final Act in the media of Eastern Europe made millions familiar with the important precepts on human rights and fundamental freedoms which their governments had recently freely endorsed. This development and what followed was welcomed by the United States as a positive step forward.

Beginning in May 1976, voluntary Helsinki Monitoring Groups were formed, first in Moscow and later in Lithuania, Ukraine, Georgia and Armenia. These small but unique and unprecedented citizens' groups were comprised of individuals guided by the Principle VII recognition of their right to "know and act upon" their rights. Seeking to encourage the Soviet authorities to bring their human rights practices more into line with the pledges it had made in Helsinki, these groups published numerous reports documenting violations of human rights. Numerous other monitoring groups concerned with specific issues covered by the

Final Act's Declaration of Principles also emerged in the U.S.S.R. after 1976, many of which were affiliated with the original Helsinki Monitoring Groups. These include the Working Commission on Psychiatric Abuse, the Christian Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers, the Association of Free Unions of Workers (AFTU) and the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers (SMOT). In June 1982, the first unofficial peace group in the U.S.S.R., called the Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., was formed in Moscow. This group issued appeals calling upon both the United States and the Soviet Union to end the arms race and specifically urged the U.S.S.R. to bring its practices, including the handling of foreign mail and access to foreign journals, into line with international norms. Regrettably, members of all these groups have been subjected to varying forms of harassment and repression including imprisonment and incarceration in psychiatric hospitals.

Similar citizen Helsinki Monitoring Groups were established in several other East European countries. In January 1977, in Czechoslovakia, approximately 300 citizens signed Charter '77 and formed a loose-knit organization which has published voluminous reports on the status of the Czechoslovak Government's implementation of its own laws and international obligations, including the Helsinki Final Act. Today, despite continued harassment and imprisonment, particularly of its leaders, there are over 1,000 signatories of Charter '77. In 1978, an affiliated group, the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS) was formed to report and document violations of basic human freedoms.

In Poland, the Committee on Worker's Self-Defense (KOR) was formed in September 1976 by a small group of intellectuals dedicated to defending the rights of striking workers in the city of Radom. In 1977, KOR broadened its activities to include the wide range of human and civil rights in Poland, and in 1979 organized Poland's first Helsinki Monitoring Committee, which like its counterparts in the other East European countries, has issued a series of reports documenting the observance of human and civil rights in Poland. KOR was subsequently instrumental in the formation of the free trade union, Solidarity, in August 1980, and key members were arrested after martial law was imposed in 1981. These members were released from prison in the July 1984 conditional amnesty.

Clearly, the Helsinki Final Act and, specifically, the Basket I Declaration of Principles has kindled new hopes and evoked new awareness of human and civil rights throughout Europe and North America. Despite the repression of many of the members of the various Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the East European countries, these groups have demonstrated that the Helsinki Final Act is a unique and unprecedented means of exposing human rights abuses in their respective countries.

The Final Act prompted the establishment of a Helsinki monitoring movement in the United States and Western Europe as well. The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, a U.S. Government agency, was formed in 1976 and charged with monitoring and encouraging Helsinki compliance in Eastern Europe as well as the U.S. In the private sector, the New York-based Helsinki Watch Committee was established in 1978 and has issued numerous comprehensive reports on the status of human rights in CSCE signatory nations, including the United States. Helsinki Watch has counterparts in eight European countries and together these organizations form the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights with headquarters in Vienna. And the Helsinki process reinvigorated the many existing human rights, ethnic and religious organizations in North America and Europe who focused their efforts on achieving compliance with the principles of the Final Act.

## Strengthening NATO Unity

From the U.S. perspective, one of the most important contributions of the CSCE process has been the possibilities it has afforded for the strengthening of unity and cohesion among the NATO allies. The approach of the United States to many of the significant issues raised by the Helsinki Final Act has often differed from that of our West European allies. Nevertheless, these differences have always been resolved and the NATO group has consistently been able to speak and act in concert. As underlined by the Department of State, "Western unity, for example, in insisting upon compliance with CSCE undertakings and balance between security and human rights goals, has been essential to the progress which has been made in CSCE to date."

NATO unity has been preserved and strengthened through an elaborate caucusing mechanism in which differences between the allies have been meticulously ironed out. The focal point of these discussions has been NATO headquarters in Brussels, where CSCE issues are considered on a regular basis. During CSCE review or experts meetings, the heads of delegation of all the NATO countries regularly meet as a NATO caucus to discuss pertinent developments and to coordinate policy. The success of these NATO caucuses at the Belgrade and Madrid Meetings, as well as at the numerous experts meetings held in the CSCE process, has significantly advanced the spirit of allied unity among NATO countries, particularly at a time when the alliance has been under stress in other areas.

## The European View

On the basis of information supplied to the Commission by other signatory states, a clear picture emerges that in Western Europe, as in the United States, the Helsinki Final Act and, in particular, its Basket I Declaration of Principles, is considered to have brought several non-quantifiable yet important political benefits. Broadly speaking, these countries consider the central contribution of the CSCE process, embodied in the principles set forth in Basket I, to be the establishment of a lasting framework of East-West relations, within which both sides have been forced to confront and deal with a wide array of important political, military, social and cultural issues.

For the West Europeans, the CSCE process has added a new multilateral dimension to relations in Europe, setting relations between them, despite occasional set-backs, on a new more forward-looking course, aimed at increasing dialogue and mutual understanding. More specifically, the Europeans see the principles of the Helsinki Final Act as having provided a series of political advantages to the West including fostering high-level political contacts, the establishment of human rights questions as legitimate topics of international attention, and the establishment of a continuing monitoring process for human rights and other CSCE issues. Other benefits have included the encouragement of more independent activity by the nations of Eastern Europe and the increased significance of the role of the Neutral and Non-aligned (NNA) countries in solving the problems confronting contemporary Europe.

## Helsinki Principles and the Political Framework of Europe

High on the list of significant contributions of the CSCE process in the view of many West European states is the notion that the Helsinki Final Act and its principles have enhanced the normal fabric of East-West bilateral relations by building upon established principles of mutual cooperation and supplementing them in fields not covered by existing bilateral treaties and arrangements. This has been particularly true in the case of the F.R.G.-G.D.R. relationship.

As Austrian Foreign Ministry officials have pointed out, the CSCE process has helped to maintain, in the troubled 1980s, a modicum of bilateral cooperation between East and West built up during the detente era of the 1970s. Corresponding to this view, French officials emphasized that the Helsinki process has provided the only forum within which all European countries (with the exception of Albania) can consistently meet together and currently contributes the only effective forum wherein East and West are talking on a regular basis. The French consider that the CSCE framework is the only concrete proof of the unity of Europe. Others consider CSCE as one of the few surviving elements of detente.

Some West European countries take this notion even further. Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen has expressed concern that, without CSCE, East and West would currently hardly be talking to one another and that there would be no instrument to discuss serious East-West issues. An official of the Dutch Foreign Ministry also emphasized the importance of the CSCE process as a natural channel of communication -- a channel significantly kept open by the East when it had closed others in the wake of the NATO decision to deploy intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. In fact, the CSCE process provided the forum for two of the three high-level political contacts held between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. in 1983 and 1984, a time when bilateral relations were at a low point. Secretary of State George Shultz met with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in September 1983 at the conclusion of the Madrid Meeting and in January 1984 at the inaugural session of the Stockholm CDE Conference. These CSCE meetings also provided opportunities for bilateral contacts among the other Foreign Ministers of Eastern and Western Europe.

The ability of the CSCE process to weather storms in East-West relations and the proven durability and timelessness of the Final Act's Declaration of Principles are viewed by some West European states as enabling the nations of Europe to deal with crisis management situations in times of East-West tensions. In the view of Austria, the Helsinki process has contributed to a more relaxed atmosphere in Europe and, in many respects, has contributed to the development of less complicated procedures in the shaping of European political relations.

However, most West European states stop short of directly crediting CSCE for specific improvements in bilateral relations with nations of the East. Many of these improvements had been set in motion even before the signing of the Helsinki Final Act and could not thereby be solely attributable to the influence of the CSCE process. For instance, Austrian officials noted that the provisions of the Final Act's Declaration of Principles had been guiding Austria's relations with Eastern Europe even before 1975, and therefore could not be said to have a direct influence on its substantive relations with those nations. A notable exception to this case was the Federal Republic of Germany which stressed that the F.R.G.-Polish agreements of 1975, which eventually enabled 270,000 ethnic Germans living in Poland to resettle in the F.R.G., bore a direct relationship to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.

## Contacts with Eastern Europe

Most West European sources observed that high-level political contacts and visits with the countries of the East had increased since the CSCE process began, but notably did not attribute this increase either solely or directly to Helsinki-related factors. However, many did emphasize that CSCE had created the framework, despite increased East-West tension in recent years, for these bilateral and multilateral contacts to continue and even, in some cases, to expand. For instance, Greek officials noted that they make reference to the Final Act in all agreements signed with the countries of Eastern Europe, but admitted that it was difficult to determine whether it was existing government policy or the Final Act which was responsible for the agreements themselves. Officials of the Federal Republic of Germany directly credited the CSCE process with having facilitated governmental contacts with the G.D.R., particularly the increasing high-level political contacts of recent years.

Despite these provisos, some countries provided the Commission with lists of high-level visits and contacts held with officials of East European countries. For instance, from 1975 to 1981, the F.R.G. and Poland exchanged 24 visits between high-ranking officials including three visits by heads of state and six by foreign ministers. Between 1975 and 1984, 17 visits were exchanged with Romania, 41 visits with Hungary and 10 with Czechoslovakia. Turkey exchanged four visits at the prime minister and foreign minister levels with the U.S.S.R. since 1975 and, in the same time frame, exchanged seven visits of foreign ministers and two of prime ministers with Bulgaria. Since the signing of the Final Act, Turkey has signed bilateral Declarations of Good Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation with its three Warsaw Pact neighbors: with the U.S.S.R. in 1978 and with Bulgaria and Romania in 1975.

## Strengthening National Sovereignty

In the view of the West Europeans, the original Soviet goal of using the Helsinki Final Act, particularly the Declaration of Principles, as a surrogate peace treaty ratifying the post-war political situation in Europe, has failed. CSCE has not led, as some had predicted, to a consolidation of Soviet domination over Eastern Europe. Nor has it generated measures towards change in Western Europe. On the contrary, according to officials of the United Kingdom, the Helsinki Final Act established a standard of behavior and values which already existed in Western Europe. While the Final Act did not require any fundamental changes in the societies of the West, it has in the East.

In addition, as pointed out by U.K. officials, the Final Act's Declaration of Principles, particularly Principle I on the sovereign equality of states, by recognizing the right to change frontiers by peaceful means, has provided the opportunity for the West, and particularly the F.R.G., to address the question of German reunification, as well as the general problem of the division of Europe, in a peaceful way.

Several countries noted that the principles of the Final Act have helped increase the maneuvering space of the smaller East European states vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. In this view, which is shared by the U.S. Government, the CSCE process has enabled the Soviet Union's Warsaw Pact allies to operate, at least marginally, more independently and more freely in multilateral endeavors in Europe. In addition, as noted by Foreign Ministry officials in the Netherlands, the people of the countries of Eastern Europe have attached great importance to the Helsinki principles as safeguards of national sovereignty.

A point stressed by several West European countries was that an important aspect of the CSCE process is the active participation of all European states, each having equal rights and, thereby, an equal voice in the future of the process. This political fact was deemed to be particularly important to the NNA countries who have endeavored to use their participation in the CSCE process to expand their political influence in Europe and their impact on issues heretofore considered solely in the domain of East-West relations. Noteworthy in this regard has been the key mediating role the NNA states have played in the final, successful resolution of many fora held as part of the CSCE process, particularly and most recently the Madrid Meeting. Similarly, the Stockholm CDE Conference has given the NNA countries an unprecedented opportunity to participate directly in important security negotiations affecting Europe.

## Human Rights and the CSCE Review Mechanism

The West European CSCE states were in basic agreement that the CSCE review mechanism, embodied in periodic review conferences such as Belgrade, Madrid and Vienna (to be held in 1986) have added a new and valuable dimension to the CSCE process. As one Western CSCE signatory emphasized, the Helsinki process has brought the issues of human rights and human contacts into the focus of international attention. These sentiments were echoed by officials of the United Kingdom who emphasized that CSCE has helped raise certain issues in a direct way with the countries of Eastern Europe which, prior to the Helsinki era, would have been difficult. Through the CSCE review mechanism, these Eastern countries have been forced to confront and discuss issues they would prefer to avoid, most notably, human rights. Similarly, Dutch officials emphasized that meetings like Belgrade and Madrid provided useful fora for calling attention to Soviet and East European human rights violations. The pressure of review conferences of this sort has, in their view, a positive effect on implementation.

This view was also endorsed by many non-NATO countries. According to Swedish Foreign Ministry officials, the Helsinki Final Act and specifically Principle VII, the human rights principle, has legitimized international action and a process of criticism in matters relating to the safeguarding of human rights. Officials of the Holy See stressed that the CSCE principles opened a "Pandora's Box" permitting people recourse to action in terms of human rights and creating possibilities for concerned people throughout Europe to raise human rights issues directly with East European governments, thereby making human rights a legitimate topic of international discourse. Through the CSCE process, many countries stressed, both East and West have had to acknowledge the mutual right to monitor implementation of all the provisions of the Final Act.

French officials carried this argument further. The principles of the Helsinki Final Act, they emphasized, permitted the West to maintain permanent pressure on human rights issues, and to make a direct connection between human rights and issues of security in Europe. Without the Final Act, they noted, the human rights movements in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe would not have been able to operate as long as they have. The linkage of their activities to the principles of the Final Act has provided them extra latitude with the authorities in Eastern Europe.

The Europeans, however, were acutely aware of the limitations of the CSCE process and cautioned against excessive public expectations in human rights and other Helsinki-related issues as well. Most could agree with the sentiments expressed by Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme in his address to the inaugural session of the Stockholm CDE Conference that despite progress in some areas, respect for human rights in Europe had certainly not increased to the extent aimed at in Helsinki. While recognizing this fact, many cautioned that the CSCE process was geared to the long-term, that it could not bring about immediate, far-reaching improvements in various CSCE fields nor heal the ideological rift between East and West. In their view, it was never realistic to expect that CSCE standards of behavior would be implemented overnight. Nor could the CSCE process be counted on to preclude crises or setbacks in East-West relations.

Rather, in the European view, through the CSCE, a process of slow improvement of relations could be achieved. French officials stressed that the spirit of Helsinki should not be viewed as something already achieved but as a dynamic, on-going process with its own fluctuations. Similarly, officials in the United Kingdom stressed that because one country might violate certain provisions of the Final Act, these actions by no means signified that the provisions were worthless. On the contrary, the French asserted that, while the Final Act had created the unfortunate illusion to some that relations with the Soviet Union had normalized, the CSCE process had nevertheless helped the West to maintain a fabric of relations with the East, even during the worst of times. The mere existence of the CSCE process, in this view, has had a beneficial effect on life in all of Europe. Despite repeated violations of its provisions, the Helsinki Final Act remains a fixed point of reference for public opinion in both East and West Europe.

While disappointment was expressed in many countries with the overall level of progress made in implementing the Final Act's human rights provisions, the Holy See emphasized that the CSCE process had opened up unprecedented possibilities for improved respect for religious liberty in Eastern Europe. Improvements were particularly noted in the dissemination of religious material, in the well-being of various, but certainly not all, religious communities, and in the opportunities for increased contacts between these communities and the outside world. The Vatican representative observed that treatment of religious issues in the states of Eastern Europe varied widely, and singled out Hungary as one country where there has been positive developments since 1975.

Another positive development cited by Vatican officials was the investiture of Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek as Archbishop of Prague in 1978, which symbolized the at least temporary improvement in relations between the Vatican and the Czechoslovak authorities. The investiture of Archbishop Tomasek was a significant event since the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia had been without a primate since 1969. In another positive development, attributable to the atmosphere fostered by the Final Act, the Vatican was able to appoint two new Lithuanian bishops in July 1982 and to appoint a Latvian bishop to the College of Cardinals in February 1983, although otherwise religious rights and other human rights in the Baltic states are not widely respected.

# CHAPTER III

## BASKET I: CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

### Introduction

The second part of Basket I sets forth a series of five confidence-building measures (CBMs) designed to reflect the military aspects of security and cooperation in Europe. These five CBMs are intended primarily to inhibit the threat or use of military force by providing for the advance notification of military activities and the observance of such activities by other participating states. There is an important distinction in the Final Act between the degree of obligation involved in CBMs, some which are expected to be implemented automatically as fulfillment of one of the Final Act's commitments, and others which are clearly voluntary in nature.

The most important Final Act CBM -- the prior notification, at least 21 days in advance, of major military maneuvers exceeding a total of 25,000 troops -- is clearly obligatory. Such notification is to include information on the general purpose of the maneuver, the types and strengths of the forces involved, and the geographical area and time frame in which it will take place. Those CBMs which are voluntary or discretionary in nature are: the prior notification of smaller-scale military maneuvers; the exchange of observers; the prior notification of major military movements; and the exchange of military visitors.

The concluding provisions of the CBMs section of Basket I express in general terms the interest of the participating states in taking effective measures to advance the cause of "general and complete disarmament" under strict international control. This section, however, requires no specific actions by the participating states in the disarmament or arms control fields, and makes no explicit provisions for arms control negotiations.

### Impact of the Final Act

By and large, the most important CBM provision, the prior notification of major military maneuvers, has been successfully implemented. Since August 1, 1975, all major military maneuvers involving more than 25,000 troops have been duly notified 21 days in advance with only one notable exception involving a Warsaw Pact maneuver. Smaller-scale maneuvers have been notified less frequently, but this is a voluntary undertaking under the Final Act. As of the end of 1983, there have been over 90 notifications, including major and smaller-scale maneuvers involving over two million troops. NATO has notified 27 major maneuvers and 30 smaller-scale; the Warsaw Pact has notified 18 major and five smaller maneuvers; and the Neutral and Non-aligned (NNA) states have notified seven major and eight smaller-scale maneuvers. A complete listing of military maneuvers notified under the Helsinki Final Act appears at the end of this chapter.

In the U.S. view, the pre-notification of nearly all major military exercises in Europe since 1975 has advanced, albeit in a limited way, the predictability of large-scale military activities on the European continent. These notifications have established a pattern of increased openness concerning these major military maneuvers which the United States and most other CSCE signatories would like to see expanded. While the notification of smaller-scale maneuvers has not been as comprehensive as the major maneuvers, the CSCE states have recognized the utility of notification and it has been established that the prior notification of these smaller-scale activities is also important for building security and trust among nations.

The invitation of observers from other participating states to view military exercises has been an important innovation of the Helsinki Final Act's CBM provisions. The Final Act encourages but does not require that observers be invited to all notified maneuvers, nor is there a requirement that all CSCE signatories be included when invitations are extended. Since 1975, the NATO and NNA states have had a liberal policy of extending invitations to observers and in providing opportunities for them to effectively understand and follow the maneuvers. As of January 1984, NATO members had invited observers to 22 of their 27 major military maneuvers and to nine of their 30 smaller-scale maneuvers. The United States alone has invited Warsaw Pact observers to ten exercises. The Warsaw Pact states have occasionally invited observers to view major maneuvers -- to six of their 18 major maneuvers and to one of their smaller-scale maneuvers, held in September 1983. NATO observers have been invited to less than half of the Warsaw Pact exercises, while American observers have been invited twice, and not at all since 1979. Usually, however, these Warsaw Pact invitations have not been made to the cross-section of signatory states, including Western and NNA states, that have characterized NATO invitations. The NNA states have invited observers to all seven of their major military maneuvers and to three of their eight smaller-scale maneuvers.

While the implementation of the CBM on the invitation of observers has not been as complete as it might be, the principle has been firmly established that observers of other states should be invited to view military exercises under conditions which will facilitate accurate and informed observation of such activities. The ability to usefully observe significant military activities on the European continent is, after all, a vital component of greater openness in the military sphere which is part and parcel of confidence and security-building, two main goals of the Helsinki process.

The Final Act includes a provision that signatories "may at their own discretion" notify major military movements. No signatory state has yet notified a major military movement not associated with a maneuver.

Signatory states are encouraged under the category of "other confidence-building measures" to promote exchanges among their military personnel, including visits by military delegations. There are many ongoing programs of this type between the armed forces of the United States and the NATO allies, as there are among the Warsaw Pact nations. There are fewer examples of exchanges between East and West, but they do occur at infrequent intervals. Examples would include the visit of two U.S. naval vessels, the USS Valdez and the USS Yarnel to Romania from June 9-13, 1982 and a visit by a delegation from the U.S. National Defense University to Hungary and Romania in March 1981.

## The Stockholm CDE

It is generally agreed that whatever their military significance, the primary importance of the Final Act's CBM provisions lie in the political sphere; that is, the intention to create greater openness and transparency in military activities in Europe. At the Madrid Review Meeting the signatory states agreed to convene a new forum -- the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) -- to expand upon the Final Act CBMs with the goal of creating new measures, known as confidence and security-building measures (CSBMs), with real military effectiveness. The Stockholm forum is intended to provide for the discussion and adoption of new measures which, building on the limited CBMs already in the Final Act, would be militarily signficant, verifiable, politically-binding and applicable to the whole of Europe, including for the first time, the entire European part of Soviet territory up to the Ural Mountains.

Such measures, at least in the Western view, should include provisions on the notification, observation and verification of conventional military activities designed to reduce the risk of surprise attack and the chances of war by miscalculation. Early in the meeting, which began in January 1984, the NATO countries introduced a proposal for a series of concrete, technical, early-warning measures calling for the mandatory notification and observation of military activities far smaller than the 25,000 troop limit established in the Final Act. The NATO package provides for the mandatory notification, 45 days in advance, of "out of garrison" military activities involving approximately 6,000 or more personnel and the mandatory invitation of observers from all participating states to these activities. It also calls for the exchange of military information and annual forecasts of planned military exercises as well as the establishment of means to verify each state's compliance with these CSBMs.

Unfortunately, thus far at Stockholm, the East has approached the concept of confidence and security-building from a markedly different perspective. The Soviet Union has introduced a series of broad, political ideas including a treaty on the non-use of force and a provision on the non-first use of nuclear weapons. The Soviets have held out the possibility of agreeing to limited CSBMs, building on those in the Final Act, but only as part of a larger agreement including their political ideas, which they deem much more important. Largely as a result of this divergence of views, the Stockholm Conference has not yet been able to register any substantive progress. However, since the conference will continue in a series of working sessions until the Vienna follow-up conference in November 1986, hopes are high that in the time remaining, agreement can be reached on a series of CSBMs which will mark a militarily-significant advance over the Final Act's CBM provisions.

## Military Maneuvers Notified from 1975-1983

### I. NATO Maneuvers
### Major Maneuvers

### 1975

-- Grosse Rochade, sponsored by the FRG and held from September 15-19 in Bavaria. It was a 68,000 man manuever with troops from the FRG, Canada, France and the US. No observers were invited.

-- Certain Trek, sponsored by the US and held from October 14-23 in northwest Bavaria. It was a 57,000 man maneuver with troops from the FRG, Canada, France and the US. Observers were invited.

### 1976

-- Grosser Baer, sponsored by the FRG and held from September 6-10 in northwest Germany. It was a 50,000 man exercise involving troops from the FRG, the Netherlands, UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Gordian Shield, sponsored by the US and held from September 7-11 in Hesse in the FRG. 34,000 troops from the US and the FRG participated. No observers were invited.

-- Lares Team, sponsored by the U.S. and held from September 13-17 in Southern Germany. It was a 44,000 man exercise involving troops from the US, Canada, and the FRG. Observers were invited.

### 1977

-- Carbon Edge, sponsored by the US, held from September 13-23 in the FRG. It was a 58,700 man exercise involving troops from the US, Belgium, Canada, the FRG, the Netherlands, and the UK. Observers were invited.

-- Standhafte Schatten, sponsored by the FRG and held from 12-15 of September in the FRG. It was a 38,000 man troop maneuver, with participants from the FRG and the US. Observers were invited.

1978

-- Blaue Donau, sponsored by the FRG and held from September 17-21 in the Nurnberg area. It was a 46,000 man troop maneuver, with participants from Canada, the FRG and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Certain Shield, sponsored by the US and held from 18-28 September in Bad Hessfeld in the FRG. It was a 56,000 man troop maneuver, involving Belgium, the FRG, Luxembourg, UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Saxon Drive, sponsored by the Netherlands and held September 18-29 in the Hannover-Bremen area. It was a 32,500 man troop maneuver, with participants from FRG, the Netherlands, and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Bold Guard, sponsored by the FRG and held 19-22 of September in the Schleswig-Holstein area. It was a 65,000 man exercise, involving troops from Denmark, FRG, UK and the US. Observers were not invited.

1979

-- Certain Sentinel, sponsored by the FRG and held from January 30- February 6, in Bavaria in the FRG. It was a 66,000 man maneuver with participants from Canada, FRG, Luxembourg, Netherlands, UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Constant Enforcer, sponsored by the FRG and the US and held September 10-21, 1979 in the FRG. It was a 29,000 man maneuver with participation of other allies. Observers were invited.

-- Harte Faust, sponsored by the FRG and held September 17-21 in the FRG. It was a 60,000 troop maneuver with participants from the FRG, US and the Netherlands. Observers were invited.

1980

-- Saint Georg, sponsored by the FRG and held September 15-19 in the Dillenburg-Heilbronn area. It was a 44,000 man exercise, involving troops of the FRG and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Certain Ramparts, sponsored by the US and held September 15-24, southwest of Nurnberg. It was a 40,000 man troop maneuver, with participants from Canada, FRG and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Spear-Point, sponsored by the United Kingdom and held September 15-25 in the Osnabruck area of the FRG. It was a 90,000 troop maneuver, involving participants from the FRG, the UK and the US. Observers were invited.

### 1981

-- Scharfe Klinge, sponsored by the Federal Republic of Germany, was held 14-18 of September in Schwabische Alb. It was a 48,000 man exercise, involving troops from the FRG, the US and Canada. Observers were invited.

-- Certain Encounter, sponsored by the FRG and held September 14-23 in the area of Bad Soden in the FRG. It was a maneuver of 70,000 troops from the FRG, the US, France, and the UK. Observers were invited.

-- Crisex 81, sponsored by Spain and held October 26-November 4 in Almeria. It was a 32,000 man exercise with troops from Spain and the US. Observers were not invited.

### 1982

-- Bold Guard 82, sponsored by the FRG and held September 20-24 in the FRG and Denmark. It was an exercise of 47,200 troops from Denmark, the FRG, the Netherlands, UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Carbine Fortress, sponsored by the US and held September 13-23 in the Fulda-Aschaffenburg-Mannheim area of the FRG. It was a 73,000 man maneuver with troops from Belgium, Canada, the FRG, the Netherlands, the UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Starke Wehr, sponsored by the FRG and held 13-17 of September in the Gartow-Osnabruck area of the FRG. It was a 45,000 man exercise, involving troops from the FRG, the US and the Netherlands. Observers were invited.

### 1983

-- Wehrhafte Lowen, sponsored by the FRG and held 19-21 of September in Kassel-Bad Hersfeld of the FRG. It was a 50,000 man exercise involving troops from the FRG, Belgium, and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Atlantic Lion, sponsored by the FRG and the Netherlands and held September 20-29 in the border area of the two sponsor countries. It was a 41,000 troop maneuver, involving participants from the FRG, the Netherlands, the US and the UK. Observers were invited.

-- Confident Express, sponsored by the FRG and the US and held September 20-29 in the Bad Hersfeld area of the FRG. It was a 62,000 man troop maneuver, involving participants from the FRG and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Eternal Triangle, sponsored by the FRG and the UK and held October 27-November 2 in the Celle-Wolfenbuttel areas of the FRG. It was a 25,000 man exercise, with troops from the FRG and the UK. Observers were not invited.

Smaller Scale Maneuvers

1975

-- Deep Express, sponsored by Turkey and held September 12-28 in the Aegean Sea and Turkish Thrace. It was a 18,000 man exercise, involving participants from Turkey, the US, the UK, FRG, Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands. Observers were not invited.

-- Batten Bolt 75, sponsored by Norway and held October 3-7 in Oestfold, Norway. It was a 8,000 man maneuver with troops from Norway, the UK, Denmark, and the Netherlands. Observers were not invited.

-- Pantser-Sprong, sponsored by the Netherlands and held October 28-November 6 in the western FRG. It was a 10,000 man exercise involving troops from the Netherlands. Observers were not invited.

1976

-- Atlas Express, sponsored by Norway and held February 24-March 23 in South West Troms, Norway. It was a 17,000 man exercise with troops from Norway, the Netherlands, the UK and the US. Observers were not invited.

-- Teamwork 76, sponsored by Norway and held September 10-24 in the Trondelag area of Norway. It was a 13,500 man exercise involving troops from Norway, the Netherlands, the UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Bonded Item, sponsored by Denmark and the FRG and held 11-21 of October in the Jutland and Schleswig-Holstein areas. It was a 11,000 man maneuver, involving troops from Denmark, the FRG, and the US. Observers were not invited.

-- Spear-Point, sponsored by the UK and held November 2-11 in the northwestern area of the FRG. A maneuver involving 18,000 troops with participants from the UK, Denmark and the US. Observers were invited.

1977

-- Certain Fighter, sponsored by the US and held May 1-8 in the FRG. It was a 24,000 man exercise with troops from the US. Observers were not invited.

-- Arrow Express, sponsored by Denmark and held September 19-23 in Denmark. It was a 16,000 man maneuver with troops from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the FRG, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Blue Fox, sponsored by Belgium and held September 12-23 in the FRG. It was a 24,500 man exercise with troops from Belgium, the FRG and the US. Observers were not invited.

-- Inter-Action, sponsored by the Netherlands and held September 24-October 1 in the FRG. It was a 12,000 man maneuver with troops from the Netherlands. Observers were invited.

-- Tayfun 77, sponsored by Turkey and held October 13-14 in Turkey. It was a 15,000 man exercise with troops from Turkey. Observers were invited.

1978

-- Arctic Express, sponsored by Norway and held March 1-6 in Troms in Norway. It was a 15,300 man exercise with troops from Canada, the FRG, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, the UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Black Bear, sponsored by Norway and held September 22-26 in the East Egder region of Norway. It was a 8,200 man maneuver with participants of the US and other NATO allies. Observers were not invited.

1979

-- Cold Winter, sponsored by Norway and held March 17-22 in Norway. It was a 10,000 troop maneuver with participants from the US and other NATO allies. Observers were not invited.

-- Display Determination 79, sponsored by Turkey and held September 28-October 14 in the Aegean Sea and Turkish Thrace. It was a 18,000 man exercise involving troops from Italy, Turkey, the UK and the U.S.. Observers were not invited.

-- Saone 79, sponsored by France and held October 1-7 in the areas of Haute Marne and Cote d'Or. It was a 16,000 man maneuver involving troops from France. Observers were invited.

-- Keystone, sponsored by the UK and held October 15-27 in the Hameln-Salzgitter area. It was a 18,000 man exercise with troops from the UK. Observers were not invited.

1980

-- Anorak Express 80, sponsored by Norway and held March 14-19 in the Troms area of Norway. It was a 18,200 man exercise involving troops from Canada, the FRG, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, UK and the US. Observers were not invited.

-- Teamwork 80, sponsored by Norway and held September 18-24 in North More-South Trondelag area of Norway. It was a 16,800 man exercise with troops from the Netherlands, Norway, UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Marne 80, sponsored by France and held October 6-10 in Aube-Marne et Meuse. It was a 17,000 man exercise with troops from France. Observers were not invited.

1981

-- Cold Winter, sponsored by Norway and held 13-18 of March in Troms in northern Norway. It was an 11,000 man exercise, involving troops from Norway, the US, UK, the Netherlands, Canada, and the Allied Naval Air Forces. Observers were not invited.

-- Barfrost 81, sponsored by Norway and held September 18-23 in the area of Troms. It was a 9,000 troop maneuver with participants from Norway and Canada. Observers were not invited.

-- Amber Express, sponsored by Denmark and held September 20-25 in the Zeeland Group of islands belonging to Denmark. It was a 22,000 man exercise involving troops from Denmark, Belgium, the FRG, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherland, the UK and the US. Observers were invited.

-- Red Claymore, sponsored by the UK and held October 1-23 in the FRG. It was a 23,000 man exercise involving troops from the UK. Observers were not invited.

-- Cross Fire, sponsored by the FRG and Belgium and held October 12-24 in the FRG. It was a 21,000 man exercise involving troops from the FRG, Belgium and the US. Observers were not invited.

1982

-- Alloy Express 82, sponsored by Norway and held March 12-17 in Nordland and Troms in North Norway. It was a 14,200 man maneuver involving troops from Canada, FRG, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, UK, and the US. Observers were not invited.

-- Langres 82, sponsored by France and held September 10-24 in the Aube-Cote d'Or area. It was a 17,000 man maneuver with troops from France. Observers were not invited.

1983

-- Ample Express 83, sponsored by Denmark and held September 20-17 in Zeeland. It was a 10,000 man maneuver with troops from the UK, FRG, Luxembourg, Italy, the Netherlands and the US. Observers were not invited.

-- Moselle, sponsored by France and held September 16-24 in north-eastern France. It was a 22,000 man exercise with troops from France. Observers were not invited.

## II. Warsaw Pact Maneuvers
### Major Maneuvers

1975 -- None

1976

-- Caucasus, sponsored by the USSR and held January 25-February 6 in the Kutaisi-Tbilisi area. It was an exercise of approximately 25,000 Soviet troops. Observers were invited.

-- Sever, sponsored by the USSR and held June 14-18 in the Leningrad military district. It was an exercise of approximately 25,000 Soviet troops. Observers were invited.

-- Shield 76, sponsored by Poland and held September 9-16 in the Bydgoszcz-Szczecin-Wroclaw area. It was a 35,000 troop maneuver, involving participants from Poland, USSR, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR. Observers were invited.

1977

-- A major maneuver was sponsored by the USSR and held March 31-April 5 in the Kishinev, Odessa, and Nikolayev areas. It was a 25,000 man exercise with troops from the USSR. Observers were not invited.

-- Carpathia, sponsored by the USSR and held July 11-16 in the Lutsk, Lvov, Rovno areas. It was a 27,000 man exercise with troops from the USSR. Observers were invited.

1978

-- Berezina, sponsored by the USSR and held February 6-10 in the Minsk area. It was a 25,000 man maneuver involving troops from the USSR. Observers were invited.

-- Tarcza 78, sponsored by the USSR and held July 3-8 in the GDR. It was a 30,000 man maneuver with troops from the USSR. Observers were not invited.

-- Kavkaz II, sponsored by the USSR and held September 5-20 in the Trans Caucasus area. It was a 25,000 man maneuver with troops from the USSR. Observers were not invited.

1979

-- Druzhba, sponsored by the USSR and Czechoslovakia and held February 2-7 in western Czechoslovakia. It was a 26,000 man exercise involving troops from the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Observers were not invited.

-- A major exercise was sponsored by the USSR and held April 2-7 in the Rovno-Ivano Frankovak area. It was a 25,000 man maneuver involving troops from the USSR. Observers were not invited.

-- Neman, sponsored by the USSR and held July 23-27 in the Panevejis-Taurage-Alitus area of the Baltic Republics. It was a 25,000 man maneuver involving troops from the USSR. Observers were invited.

1980

-- A major exercise was sponsored by the USSR and held July 10-16 in the Stendal-Magdeburg area. It was a 30,000 man exercise with troops from the USSR. Observers were not invited.

-- Brotherhood in Arms 80, sponsored by the GDR and held September 1-15 on the Baltic Sea coast. It was a 40,000 man exercise with troops from all the Warsaw Pact countries. Observers were not invited.

1981

-- Zapad 81, sponsored by the USSR and held September 4-12 in the Belorussian and Baltic military districts as well as the Baltic Sea. It was a maneuver not adequately notified and of questionable size and unknown troop origin. Observers were not invited.

1982

-- Druzhba 82, sponsored by Czechoslovakia and held January 25-30 in the Litomerice, Liberec, Prague and Plesen areas of Czechoslovakia. It was a 25,000 man exercise with troops from Czechoslovakia, the USSR, and Hungary. Observers were not invited.

-- Shield 82, sponsored by Bulgaria and held September 25-October 1 in Bulgaria and the adjacent waters of the Black Sea. It was a 60,000 man exercise with troops from the Warsaw Pact countries. Observers were not invited.

1983

-- A major exercise was sponsored by the USSR and held June 28-July 4 in the Baltic and Belorussian military districts and the Eastern Baltic Sea. It was a 50,000 man exercise with troops from the USSR. Observers were not invited.

-- A major exercise was sponsored by the USSR and held July 25-30 in southeastern GDR. It was a 26,000 man exercise with troops from the USSR. Observers were not invited.

Smaller Scale Maneuvers

1976

-- A smaller scale maneuver was sponsored by Hungary and held April 6 in central Hungary. It was an exercise of about 10,000 men from Hungary. Observers were not invited.

-- A smaller scale maneuver was sponsored by Hungary and held October 18-23 in the Tisza/Danube and Danatul areas of Hungary. It was a 15,000 man exercise with troops from Hungary and the USSR. Observers were not invited.

### 1979

-- Shield 79, sponsored by Hungary and held mid-May in the area between Lake Balaton and the Tisza River. It was a 25,000 man exercise with troops from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and the USSR. Observers were not invited.

### 1980

-- Dyna 80, sponsored by Hungary and held August 23-30. It was a 18,000 man maneuver, involving troops from Hungary and the USSR. Observers were not invited.

### 1983

-- Dnestr, sponsored by the USSR and held September 5-10 in the Odessa area. It was a 23,000 man maneuver with troops from the USSR. Observers were invited.

## III. Neutral and Non-Aligned Maneuvers

### Major Maneuvers

### 1975

-- A major maneuver was sponsored by Switzerland and held November 10-18 in the Schaffhausen area. It was a 40,000 man exercise with troops from Switzerland. Observers were invited.

### 1976

-- Golija 76, sponsored by Yugoslavia and held September 20-23 in southwest Serbia. It was a 24,000 man exercise with troops from Yugoslavia. Observers were invited.

### 1979

-- Knacknuss, sponsored by Switzerland and held March 5-9 in northeast Switzerland. It was a 51,000 man maneuver with troops from Switzerland. Observers were invited.

-- Forte, sponsored by Switzerland and held October 1-6 in the southwest Switzerland. It was a 27,000 man maneuver with troops from Switzerland. Observers were invited.

-- Area Defence Exercise 1979, sponsored by Austria and held November 19-22 in the lower Austria Piedmont. It was a 27,500 man exercise with troops from Austria. Observers were invited.

### 1982

-- Norrsken, sponsored by Sweden and held March 1-10 in Upper Nordland. It was a 23,000 man exercise with troops from Sweden. Observers were invited.

-- Panzerjagd, sponsored by Switzerland and held March 15-19 in eastern Switzerland. It was a 30,000 man exercise with troops from Switzerland. Observers were invited.

Smaller Scale Maneuvers

1975

-- A smaller scale maneuver was sponsored by Yugoslavia and held October 21-25 in southwest Macedonia. It was an 18,000 man maneuver with troops from Yugoslavia. Observers were not invited.

1976

-- Poseidon, sponsored by Sweden and held October 2-6 in the Eastern Military District of Gottland in Sweden. It was a 12,000 man maneuver with troops from Sweden. Observers were not invited.

1977

-- Vonn 77, sponsored by Sweden and held March 4-9 in the northwest province of Jaemtland. It was a 10,000 man maneuver with troops from Sweden. Observers were invited.

-- Podenco, sponsored by Spain and held October 8-15 in La Mancha. It was a 8,000 man exercise with troops from Spain. Observers were invited.

-- Herbstuebung '77, sponsored by Austria and held from 11-19 of November in the Ried im Innkrais area of Austria. It was a 12,000 man exercise involving troops from Austria. Observers were not invited.

1978

-- A smaller scale maneuver was sponsored by Austria and held November 13-17 in the Weinviertel area. It was a 5,000 man maneuver with troops from Austria. Observers were not invited.

1982

-- Area Defence Exercise 82, sponsored by Austria and held October 15-22 in the Lower Inn Valley. It was a 14,000 man exercise with troops from Austria. Observers were not invited.

1983

-- Unity 83, sponsored by Yugoslavia and held September 13-15 in Macedonia. It was a 22,000 man exercise with troops from Yugoslavia. Observers were invited.

# CHAPTER IV

## BASKET II: COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS, OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, AND OF THE ENVIRONMENT

### Introduction

Whereas the military security and human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act have received relatively extensive attention in the West, the section entitled, "Cooperation in the Field of Economics, of Science and Technology and of the Environment," known as Basket II, has remained on the fringe of public consciousness. Its overall objective is to promote, through active inter-governmental cooperation, increased economic and scientific exchanges between the widely disparate economic systems of East and West.

The guiding principle behind the inclusion of Basket II in the Helsinki Final Act was the belief that mutually beneficial economic and scientific cooperation promotes understanding and harmonious relations between states, thereby contributing to the goals of security and cooperation. It was felt that a regular and orderly promotion of such activities would contribute to a reduction in tensions between East and West by establishing a framework of interdependence of benefit to all. This interdependence, it was believed, would contribute to the process of detente by increasing the potential costs of East-West confrontations.

Many in the West further hoped that extensive and growing East-West economic interaction, coupled with the freer flow of people and ideas envisioned in the provisions on humanitarian cooperation of Basket III, would eventually lead to a gradual liberalization of the East European countries, all of whom are members of the Council on Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), an international economic alliance. In this way, Basket II was perceived to be linked to the other Final Act provisions and it was generally assumed that progress in this area was tied to progress in the implementation of the provisions of Baskets I and III. In other words, problems in these areas would have direct or indirect consequences for the continued development of cooperation under Basket II.

The course of East-West economic cooperation and scientific exchanges during the 1970s suggests that economic and political developments are indeed linked. As political relations between the two regions improved in the early 1970s and culminated in the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, East-West trade blossomed. Later in the decade, however, as political tensions arose between East and West, economic and scientific cooperation failed to expand further, and, in some cases, began to decrease. While economic constraints such as hard currency shortages in the East and the global economic recession also contributed to this decline, a major factor was the growing tension between East and West.

Nonetheless, many positive steps have been taken since 1975 to promote East-West cooperation in the fields of science and technology, the protection of the environment, commerce and industrial cooperation. Progress in these areas, as formalized by the CSCE process, has not been at an even pace, to be sure, or even in a straight line. Basket II activities, as noted above, are heavily influenced by other aspects of East-West relations. In addition, certain practical economic constraints resulting from the vastly different economic systems of the East and the West continue to impede the fuller development of economic ties.

In spite of these impediments, much progress has been made. The Helsinki Final Act has codified a set of measures and responsibilities for all participating states, based on the assumption that it is in the mutual interest of the East and West to increase trade, industrial cooperation and scientific exchanges. Small steps forward are being made constantly, by all CSCE states. Certain nations in both the East and West, for whatever reason of national interest, have become more involved in Basket II matters than others. With respect to trade, for example, the European Economic Community's commercial relations with Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. (measured as a percentage of G.N.P.) is roughly ten times that of the United States. Major across-the-board breakthroughs in Basket II matters, however, will probably be contingent on a better political climate in East-West relations.

In summary, the CSCE process has initiated a practical and useful dialogue between the industrialized countries of the East and West. Despite unavoidable negative fallout resulting from political tensions between the two regions, a certain level of Basket II cooperation has been reached, below which it is unlikely to decline. For example, there is no longer serious discussion, as existed in the years prior to the CSCE process, over whether such activities between East and West should be undertaken. Rather, the discussion is now focused toward what extent and how to make such cooperation mutually beneficial and consistent with the interests of all participating states. Seen as such, it is fair to conclude that Basket II of the Helsinki Final Act has been and will continue to be a useful vehicle for the promotion of economic and functional cooperation between the East and West.

## Basket II Provisions

Basket II of the Final Act, in many respects, is an expression of trends and opportunities which, by 1975, had already begun in East-West relations. It builds on and codifies many elements initiated during the first years of detente. In essence, Basket II lists areas of agreement in the fields of commerce, industrial cooperation, technological and scientific exchanges and environmental cooperation and suggests ways for furthering such activities. While breaking little new ground, it recognizes the importance of such activities and their contribution "to the reinforcement of peace and security in Europe and in the world as a whole." In establishing these principles and by suggesting specific areas and means of cooperation, the participating states provided an impetus for future patterns of functional interaction between the East and the West.

The first section of Basket II stresses efforts by the member states to promote commerce, essentially by removing obstacles to trade development. The intention, at least from the Western standpoint, was to facilitate efforts by private firms doing business with their Eastern counterparts, usually foreign trade organizations (FTOs) that exist solely for import or export transactions. Specific measures include the expansion of business contacts and the improvement of business facilities and communications; broader development of exchanges of economic and commercial information; and the development of marketing, advertising and after-sales service.

In the second section, the signatory states proposed to encourage international industrial cooperation such as joint production and sales, exchanges of technical information, mixed companies and joint research between the Western market and the Eastern non-market economies. This is to be accomplished through the exchange of information and the facilitation of relevant negotiations. The Final Act proposes several areas as particularly appropriate for such long-term cooperation, including energy, exploitation of raw materials and transportation.

Relating to the previous two sections on trade and industrial cooperation, the third section of Basket II notes the importance of attempting to harmonize standards between countries, of providing for arbitration to ensure prompt and equitable solutions to business disputes, and of reaching agreements on taxation and repatriation of profits and capital.

Section four examines possibilities of increased cooperation in scientific and technological fields through meetings, exchanges, dissemination of information and commercial exchanges. Areas of pure and applied science such as energy, agriculture, climate and environment, new technologies, chemistry and physics, space research, health and medicine, oceanography, and meteorology are cited as possible fields of cooperation.

Section five, acknowledging the global significance of making progress in the protection of earth's environment, calls on the participating states to increase cooperation in such fields as air and water pollution control, the protection of the marine environment, the conservation of nature, and the forecasting of environmental changes. The sixth and last section of Basket II envisions efforts to promote cooperation in such diverse areas as the development of transport, the promotion of tourism, consideration of the economic and social aspects of migrant labor and the training of professional and technical personnel.

Throughout the various sections of Basket II, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) is specifically cited as the organization which would devise and monitor programs geared to promote the various forms of cooperation noted above. The ECE, established in 1947 as part of the United Nations system, includes nearly all European signatories of the Final Act as well as the United States and Canada. (Although the Holy See, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino are CSCE signatories, they do not belong to the ECE; Albania, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR, none of whom signed the Final Act, are ECE members). The ECE has a Geneva-based international secretariat and, over the years, has served as a forum for Eastern and Western industrialized countries to exchange information and discuss Basket II issues.

As one publication of the ECE stated in 1978, "the political will of the participating states embodied in the Final Act had a powerful impact on the intensity and scope of the process of cooperation in the ECE." The publication goes on to say that "due to the virtual identity of membership in the two fora the winds of change were felt almost immediately in the practical work of the Commission and its subsidiary bodies." The Commission modified its program of work more along CSCE lines in order to implement relevant provisions of the Final Act, especially in the areas of trade and energy cooperation as well as in the field of the environment. In regard to transportation, there also have been developments at the ECE along CSCE lines. The ECE continually has been viewed as an appropriate body for the discussion and analysis of economic trends and problems in Europe. The ECE has reported on its role in the CSCE process to both Belgrade and Madrid Review Meetings.

The Madrid Concluding Document, adopted in 1983, reaffirmed the role of the ECE as the principal forum for the multilateral discussion of Basket II items. The new provisions adopted in Madrid generally followed the language of the Helsinki Final Act, but with greater specificity. The Madrid Document also acknowledged the problems which result from the use in East-West trade of "counter-trade," or "compensation transactions" whereby Western sales to the East are made contingent upon Western purchases of Eastern goods.

On the positive side, however, provisions were adopted at Madrid calling for the expansion of exchanges of economic information, especially in the area of economic statistics, and for the improvement of conditions for business contacts and facilities. The participating states also recognized the importance of direct personal contacts among scientists and specialists, and they saluted recent East-West cooperation in the field of environmental protection.

The following four chapters will examine progress made under the various provisions of Basket II. To the extent possible, specific agreements and developments which have occurred directly or indirectly within the scope of the CSCE process will be included.

# CHAPTER V

## BASKET II: COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES

### Introduction

The Final Act provisions regarding the promotion of commercial exchanges are designed to build a stable framework for the development of trade. While these provisions cover all of the participating states in their respective economic relationships, they are aimed primarily at East-West trade and address the specific problems of trade between the market and non-market economies.

There are four areas identified by the Final Act as vital to the development of commercial relations between East and West. Under the heading "General Provisions" of the section on commercial exchanges are the overall objectives to be pursued by the signatories. The participating countries stated their resolve "to promote, on the basis of the modalities of their economic cooperation, the expansion of their mutual trade in goods and services, and to ensure conditions favourable to such development." The provisions note the importance of bilateral and multilateral inter-governmental agreements, of dealing with financial and monetary questions for trade expansion, and of eliminating obstacles to trade development. The signatory states also recognized "the beneficial effects which can result from the application of most-favoured-nation (MFN) treatment." Lastly, the "General Provisions" state that the participating states will work to ensure the growth and diversification of trade and to prevent the disruption of their respective domestic markets.

The second area concerns business contacts and facilities, where there has always been a great need for improvement in assisting East-West trade development. The signatories pledged that they "will take measures further to improve conditions for the expansion of contacts" for all bodies and organizations involved in East-West trade, including contacts between the sellers and users of goods. Furthermore, they pledged that they will encourage an acceleration in the conduct of business negotiations and will improve working conditions by allowing permanent representations for foreign firms and by providing adequate hotel accomodations, means of communication and other facilities. The third area, entitled "Economic and Commercial Information," calls for the publication and dissemination of relevant information such as statistics on production, national income and foreign trade at regular and timely intervals. The last section concerns marketing and states the participating states' intention to encourage the development of marketing knowledge and techniques in addition to promoting marketing research and advertising.

## Trade Growth

### The U.S. Experience

East-West trade began to develop greatly in the early 1970s, prior to the Helsinki summit. According to the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, U.S. trade with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was approximately $578 million in 1970. By the end of 1975, the figure was over $3.5 billion, an increase of over 500 percent. The most dramatic increase occurred in the years 1972 and 1973. The participating states, in signing the Final Act were, therefore, reaffirming their commitment to the promotion of trade which was already growing by leaps and bounds.

The period after Helsinki saw this increase in trade continue. By 1979, total trade turnover had reached about $7.6 billion, an increase of nearly 118% over the 1975 figure. While the percentage increase is smaller in the post-Helsinki years, the volume of trade was larger than in any of the pre-Helsinki years. Since 1975 and despite the precipitous downturn of U.S trade with European CMEA countries which began in 1980, the value of that trade has remained higher every year but one than any time prior to Helsinki. The exception occurred in 1977 and was caused primarily by economic forces unrelated to the CSCE process, particularly the Soviet hard currency-trade deficit.

The primary component of the post-Helsinki trade increase was the sharp rise in U.S. exports, mostly to the U.S.S.R., but also to the other countries of Eastern Europe. U.S. exports to the Soviet Union represent between one-half and two-thirds of U.S. exports to the region since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, except for 1980. These exports almost doubled from 1975 to 1979. As will be discussed later, between 60 percent and 80 percent of these exports were agricultural commodities, namely wheat and coarse grains. U.S. exports to other East European countries doubled from 1975 to 1979, the majority of which also consisted of agricultural products. Since 1975, U.S. exports to European CMEA countries as a whole have been above pre-Helsinki levels every year except 1977.

U.S. imports from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have also shown improvement, although, because the value of U.S. exports to the region have always been more than double the value of U.S. imports from the region, the increase has not been as significant to the total trade turnover as has the increase in exports. Imports from Eastern Europe steadily increased from 1975 to 1978, when it then generally leveled off. Imports from the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, remained level until 1978 and then in 1979 jumped to over three times the 1975 figure before returning to current levels which are not significantly larger than in the mid-1970s.

While U.S. trade with European CMEA nations may make up a small portion of total U.S. trade, in the post-Helsinki period, it became a larger portion, especially with exports. In 1970, U.S. exports to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union amounted to only 0.8 percent of total U.S. exports. This number increased to 2.6 percent of total U.S. exports in 1975 and reached a peak of 3.2 percent in 1979. The average annual percentage of U.S. exports to European CMEA countries to total U.S. exports was over 2.7 percent from 1976 to 1979, higher than the pre-Helsinki figure of 1.7 percent. Even in the years 1980-1983, when U.S. trade with European CMEA decreased, as a percentage of total exports, U.S. exports to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe remained higher than before Helsinki. U.S. imports from the European CMEA countries as a percentage of total U.S. imports also have increased in the post-Helsinki period, although not nearly to the extent that exports have.

U.S. participation in East-West trade not only increased in terms of value in the post-Helsinki period, it increased at a higher rate than did U.S. trade in general. While this trade was conducted by private U.S. firms independently of the U.S. Government, it can be said that the Final Act, signed by the U.S. Government along with the governments of the European CMEA countries, was important in fostering an atmosphere conducive to the development of East-West trade. The positive developments that occurred in implementing the many Basket II provisions of the Helsinki Final Act have been an important part of this promotion.

## The European Experience

While U.S. trade with the European CMEA countries grew in the late 1970s, commercial relations between West and East European CSCE signatories grew to a greater extent in the early 1970s and have remained a more integral part of relations as a whole since the signing of the Final Act. This is a reflection of the economic variables involved, such as the fact that the West European economies have a greater reliance on foreign trade in general. For example, according to U.N. trade statistics, exports and imports represented approximately eight and nine percent respectively of the 1979 U.S. Gross Domestic Product. That same year, exports and imports each represented over 20 percent of the Gross Domestic Products of the largest industrial economies in Western Europe -- the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom. France was not far behind, with exports and imports representing about 17 and 19 percent of GDP respectively. Of course, since the size of the U.S. economy is much greater than that of any individual West European country, the U.S. trades more in terms of value. Nevertheless, foreign trade plays a much larger role in the activity of the West European economies.

In addition to the greater importance of foreign trade in the economies of Western Europe, a larger portion of that trade is with the the countries of European CMEA. This is also the result of economic factors, such as the geographical proximity of the West European countries to Eastern Europe and the West European need for natural resources. Political factors also play a role and reflect the different attitudes of the United States and the other industrialized Western nations toward the role of trade in East-West relations. In 1979, the peak year for the United States-East European trade, American exports to European CMEA nations represented slightly more than three percent of total U.S. exports, and imports from European CMEA represented less than one percent of total U.S. imports. In contrast, West German exports to and imports from members of the European CMEA represented over five percent of total 1979 West German exports and imports. Over four percent of total French exports and over three percent of total French imports for that year involved bilateral trade with European CMEA countries.

Countries such as Finland and Austria are even more economically intertwined with the East. In 1982, almost 29 percent of Finland's total exports and over 11 percent of Austria's total exports were to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In fact, in 1982, Finland exported a larger percentage of total Western exports to European CMEA than did the United States, according to statistics from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Finland and France all conducted more East-West trade in terms of value that year than did the United States. Considering the enormous difference in the economic output between the United States and some of these countries, such a fact is quite significant.

Generally, the increased involvement of the West European countries in East-West trade was more dramatic in the early 1970s; the Helsinki Final Act thus only confirmed already established trends. However, the fact that trade between Eastern Europe and these countries continued to grow, becoming a larger percentage of their total trade in the late 1970s and early 1980s may be at least partially due to direct and indirect influences of the Helsinki process.

The country most extensively involved in trade with the countries of European CMEA is the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1982, the FRG maintained a level of trade with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union four times that of the United States. The volume of trade between the FRG and the European CMEA countries as a whole, with the exclusion of the German Democratic Republic, went from 19.8 billion Deutsche Mark (DM) in 1975, the year that the Helsinki Final Act was signed, to 39.5 billion DM in 1983. During the same time period, inter-German trade, which comprises approximately one-third of total FRG trade with European CMEA, more than doubled. Much of the increase in trade with European CMEA countries is a reflection of the increased price of oil during the 1970s. FRG exports to those countries also increased considerably, however, to a value six and one-half times larger than in 1970. And, as with the United States, as a percentage of both exports and imports, West German trade with the East grew during the 1970s, from 3.8 and 3.7 percent of total FRG exports and imports respectively in 1970 to 5.08 and 5.07 percent in 1979.

Although the Federal Republic of Germany is by far the most dominant Western actor in East-West trade, many of the other West European countries experienced increases in their trade with the European CMEA. Finland is a prime example. In general, it can be stated that the role of East-West trade in total Finnish trade increased during the 1970s and became a larger percentage in the post-Helsinki period than in the period before 1975. From 1970 to 1975, Finnish exports to the European CMEA countries as a percentage of total exports averaged 16.5 percent and increased to an average of 20.6 percent in the post-Helsinki years, while imports from the European CMEA countries increased from 18 percent to 22.8 percent. Thus, Finnish trade with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, similar to U.S. and F.R.G. trade with those countries, increased at a faster rate than did trade as a whole.

While trade between European CMEA nations and many of the other countries of Western Europe, such as France, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Italy, increased in actual value in the post-Helsinki period, it declined as a percentage of the total trade of these West European countries. Increases, such as the tripling of Swedish imports from the European CMEA countries from 1975 to 1983, can largely be attributed to price increases, especially in the price of oil from the U.S.S.R. The United Kingdom, which does not rely heavily on Soviet energy supplies, increased its trade with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in constant 1980 prices from 1958.7 million British Pounds in 1975 to 2308.4 million British Pounds in 1978. This represents an increase of about 18 percent. Trade then declined in real terms until 1982, when it again began to grow.

While East-West trade has become a smaller portion of the total trade of the West European countries, it has, in certain instances, become an increased share of the trade of some of the European CMEA countries. For example, according to an international trade specialist at the Department of Commerce, the five-year trade of the Soviet Union with the West from 1976-1980 was almost 2.5 times that of the preceeding five-year period. Soviet exports to the industrialized West as a share of total Soviet exports increased from 26 percent in 1975 to 32 percent in 1980. According to the ECE, Bulgarian exports to the developed Western countries as a share of total exports increased during the same period from 9.3 percent to 15.8 percent. While imports did not show the same significant increases, in general trade with the West continued to become a more important share of the trade of the European CMEA countries.

## Inter-Governmental Agreements and Bilateral Trade

Since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, there have been many bilateral agreements concluded between the East and the West. Some, such as trade agreements, commit the signatories to take specific actions such as the granting of most-favored-nation treatment or the elimination of double taxation. Others, such as long-term agreements on various forms of economic cooperation, simply state the intention of the signatories and direct attention to aspects of their economic relationships without specific commitments. Still others have been concluded within the framework of the Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN), concluded in April 1979, which worked toward the reduction of tariffs, quotas and other barriers to international trade under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). And, with the exception of agreements such as those between the Soviet Union and the United States on grain sales, these inter-governmental agreements only open up avenues and set directions for increased trade between businesses and trade organizations rather than actually expand trade themselves.

### The U.S. Experience

The United States has entered into numerous inter-governmental agreements with the European countries of CMEA. The country with which the United States has intensified its trade relations the greatest through such agreements is Romania. The primary agreement in this respect is the U.S.-Romanian Agreement on Trade Relations. The negotiation and signing of this agreement coincided with the final negotiations of CSCE, and the provisions of the trade agreement and the Final Act's Basket II provisions reflect the same goals and objectives. On August 3, 1975, two days after the Helsinki summit, President Ford arrived in Bucharest and, along with President Ceausescu, brought the Agreement on Trade Relations into force.

Article I of the trade agreement provides for the granting of most-favored-nation treatment to Romania in accordance with the terms of the 1974 U.S. Trade Act. The agreement also states the intention of the two states to encourage the expansion of trade and to consult in the event of market disruption caused by imports. In addition, under the terms of the agreement, private firms are permitted to open offices in Romania and to have more direct access to buyers, users and governmental offices. The trade agreement has been continually extended for three-year periods since August 1975.

The other major agreement between the United States and Romania is the Long-Term Agreement on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation, signed on November 21, 1976, the details of which are discussed in this chapter's section on industrial cooperation. Other agreements which address specific aspects of U.S.-Romanian trade include the Protocol on the Development of Agriculural Trade, signed on September 11, 1975; the June 4, 1976 Agreement on Maritime Transport regarding shipping issues; the Governing International Fisheries Agreement which permits and regulates Romanian fishing activity within the 200 mile U.S. fishery conservation zone, signed in November 1976; the Airworthiness Agreement which ensures that Romanian-made gliders imported by the U.S. meet required safety standards, signed in December 1976; an Agreement on Wool and Manmade-Fiber Textiles which provides for consultations in the event of market disruption in the textile industry, reached on June 17, 1977 and replaced by a new agreement on November 3, 1980; and an Agreement on Cotton Textiles, which also provides for consultations in the event of market disruption and was entered into force on January 25, 1978 and replaced by a new agreement on March 31, 1983. In addition, the United States and Romania agreed on tariff and non-tariff matters within the framework of the Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN), which became effective January 1, 1980. And, on March 10, 1983, the United States and Romania reached an agreement regarding the consolidation and rescheduling of certain debts owed to, guaranteed or insured by the U.S. Government and its agencies. This agreement entered into force on April 22, 1983.

These agreements, particularly the trade agreement, helped foster the large increase in bilateral trade between the United States and Romania. Other post-Helsinki events, such as the American recognition of Romania's status as a developing country by granting duty-free treatment to certain Romanian imports under the Generalized System of Preferences, effective January 1, 1976, also served to increase U.S.-Romanian trade. ECE trade statistics show that total trade turnover began to soar in the late 1970s, more than doubling in value from 1975 to 1978 and more than tripling by 1980. Both exports and imports experienced large increases, and, while U.S. exports to Romania decreased as the Romanian debt became troublesome after 1981, Romania has continued to be the primary European CMEA exporter to the United States, the source of approximately one-third of total U.S. imports from those countries since 1981.

A number of agreements have also been concluded between the Hungary and the United States in the post-Helsinki period. As with Romania, the most important agreement has been the Agreement on Trade Relations, signed on March 17, 1978 and entered into force on July 7, 1978. The trade agreement includes the reciprocal granting of MFN status, making Hungary the third European CMEA country to have such status with the United States. The trade agreement also established the U.S.-Hungarian Joint Economic and Commercial Committee, which first met in March 1979 and has met every year since to discuss various trade and economic issues. Other provisions of the trade agreement deal with business facilities and consultations on market disruption. In the exchange of letters between the two governments regarding the trade agreement, the implementation of all the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, including Baskets I and III as well as Basket II, was stressed. The trade agreement has been extended every three years.

Other bilateral agreements concluded between the United States and Hungary include a February 4, 1976 Agreement on Cotton, Wool and Manmade-Fiber Textiles and Apparel Products which provides for consultations in the event of market disruption in any of these textile industries; a Convention on the Avoidance of Double Taxation, signed in Washington on February 12, 1979, and entered into force in September of that year; a Parcel Post Agreement, entered into force in August 1979; a Joint Statement on the Development of Agricultural Trade and Cooperation, entered into force on May 13, 1981; and an Agreement on Trade in Wool Textiles, concluded on February 25, 1983. In addition, two agreements on tariff and on non-tariff matters within the MTN framework were agreed to by the United States and Hungary in late 1978 and entered into force on January 1, 1980.

The impact of these agreements on U.S.-Hungarian bilateral trade has not been as dramatic as was in the case of U.S.-Romanian trade relations, but there nevertheless has been a steady, consistent increase in trade between Hungary and the United States since 1975. Total trade turnover more than doubled from 1975 to 1983. This increase is attributable to the increases of U.S. imports from Hungary which occurred after the granting of MFN to that country. While U.S. exports have declined, U.S. imports increased by 64 percent from 1978 to 1979 and have given Hungary trade surpluses with the United States every year since then.

The United States and Poland also have concluded a number of inter-governmental agreements since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Because Poland was granted MFN status with the United States prior to the 1974 Trade Act, unlike Romania and Hungary, no trade agreement was needed between the two countries in order to conduct normalized trade relations. Poland also has had access to credit from or backed by U.S. Government agencies. It should be noted that, in reaction to the imposition of martial law, Poland's MFN status has been under Executive suspension since November 1982 and that, while there is no specific statutory or regulatory ban on export credits to Poland, the United States is abiding by the January 11, 1982 decision of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) not to extend credits to Poland. Payment of guarantee claims on export credits to Poland is restricted.

Since 1975, the agreements concluded between the United States and Poland include: an Agreement on Trade in Cotton Textiles, entered into force on November 6, 1975, and replaced by a new agreement, which included wool textiles, on January 12, 1978 and amended on March 20, 1981; a 1976 Fisheries Agreement; an Agreement on the Participation of Small and Medium-Sized Firms and Economic Organizations in Trade and in Industrial Cooperation, signed on November 9, 1978; and an Agreement on Limiting Imports of Specialty Steel, entered into force on October 18, 1983. The two countries also reached agreement on tariff and non-tariff matters within the MTN framework which became effective on October 20, 1980.

Prior to the declaration of martial law, Poland was by far the biggest trading partner with the United States among the East European CSCE signatories. With the exception of an import cutback characteristic of many of the European CMEA nations in 1977, Polish trade turnover with the United States increased steadily from 1975 to 1979. Total trade turnover between the two countries in 1979 was 52 percent higher than in 1975. And even though U.S.-Polish trade plummeted to less than half the 1979 level in 1982 and 1983, it currently remains at a much higher level than U.S. trade with all other East European CSCE signatories, with the exception of Romania, and is higher than U.S.-Polish trade was prior to the signing of the Final Act.

In regard to inter-governmental agreements between the United States and Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and G.D.R., there have also been some positive developments in the post-Helsinki period. U.S. agreements with Bulgaria include: a Fisheries Agreement, entered into force on February 28, 1977; a Joint Statement on Agricultural Cooperation in Washington in November 1979; and a Maritime Transport Agreement put into effect on February 19, 1981. Agreements concluded between the United States and the German Democratic Republic include a Fisheries Agreement, entered into force on March 4, 1977; a Parcel Post Agreement, entered into force on August 15, 1979; and an Agreement Regarding the Establishment of Branch Offices of the Commercial Sections of the Embassies of the United States and the German Democratic Republic, entered into force on January 30, 1981.

There has been one inter-governmental commercial agreement between the United States and Czechoslovakia since 1975, the Agreement on Consultations on U.S. Market Disruption by Imports of Cotton, Wool, and Manmade-Fiber Textiles, entered into force on March 28, 1977. While there were no agreements reached between the United States and Czechoslovakia within the MTN framework, and Czechoslovakia did not actively participate in the multilateral talks, the Czechoslovak Government did associate itself with a number of the agreements reached. And, while it was not strictly commercial, the agreement on the settlement of outstanding claims between the two countries -- namely the issue of Czechoslovak gold held by the United States since World War II under the tripartite control of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France and U.S. citizens' claims against the Czechoslovak government for property nationalized after 1945 -- removed a major stumbling block to improved trade relations. This agreement, signed in Prague on January 29, 1982 and entered into force on February 2, 1982, called for the return of 18.4 million metric tons of gold, worth over $250 million at the time. In return, U.S. claimants received $81.5 million from Czechoslovakia. The agreement removed the special ban in the 1974 U.S. Trade Act on the granting of MFN status to Czechoslovakia.

While trade between the United States and the U.S.S.R., Poland, Romania and Hungary began to increase sharply prior to 1975, U.S. trade with Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia began its turn upwards around 1975-1976, after the signing of the Final Act. The level of U.S.-Bulgarian trade in 1981 was nearly six times the 1975 level. Almost the entire increase can be attributed to U.S. exports to Bulgaria, especially of corn and soybean products. The growth of U.S.-G.D.R. trade has been more significant. While remaining nearly level during the years between and including 1970 and 1975, bilateral trade between the two countries from 1975 to 1980 rose by almost 1800 percent. The increase from 1977 to 1978 alone was almost 300 percent. As with Bulgaria, the major cause for the increase was U.S. exports to the German Democratic Republic, especially of corn and soybean products.

Trade between the United States and Czechoslovakia also increased greatly in the post-Helsinki period, especially in the year immediately following the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Total trade turnover between the two countries in 1976 was more than double the value of 1975. In 1979, the peak year for U.S.-Czechoslovak trade, the value of that trade was more than 400 percent the value of 1975. Czechoslovak increases in corn and grain imports from the U.S. are the primary reason for the increase.

Most of the inter-governmental economic agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union were reached in the pre-Helsinki period. The two most important agreements for establishing normalized trading relations were the 1972 Trade Agreement, provisions of which, while never actually brought into force, were nevertheless followed and the Long-Term Agreement on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation, signed and entered into force a little more than one year before the signing of the Final Act. Other early agreements include: the 1972 Grain Agreement; the 1973 protocols on the possibility of establishing a U.S.-U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce, on expansion and improvement of commercial facilities in Washington and Moscow, and on a Soviet Trade Representation in Washington and a U.S. Commercial Office in Moscow; and a 1972 agreement establishing the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commercial Commission.

While the inter-governmental commercial agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States in the post-Helsinki period are fewer in number, they are nevertheless very important. The grain agreements, which focus on the primary area of U.S.-Soviet trade, are particularly important. During the summer of 1975, the Soviets were experiencing droughts in many agricultural areas of the their country and decided to increase substantially their purchases of grain abroad. On September 9, slightly more than one month after the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, a U.S. negotiating team arrived in Moscow to discuss an agreement on Soviet grain purchases from the United States. A five-year agreement on the sale of grain was reached on October 20, 1975 and extended twice for a period of one year each in 1981 and 1982. The Soviets agreed to purchase each year between six and eight million metric tons of wheat and/or corn. A five-year grain agreement between the two countries, signed on August 25, 1983, increased the limits to between nine and 12 million metric tons.

In addition to the grain agreements, the United States and the Soviet Union concluded a Fisheries Agreement on November 26, 1976 and entered into force in February 28, 1977 and signed a Memorandum of Understanding regarding Marine Cargo Insurance in London on April 5, 1979.

The effect of inter-governmental agreements on trade is more evident with the USSR than with the other European CMEA countries. This is because the overwhelming amount of this trade consists of U.S. grain exports to the Soviet Union under the terms of the two grain agreements. Total trade turnover between the two countries more than doubled between 1975 and 1979, the peak year for U.S.-Soviet trade. U.S. exports to the Soviet Union have exceeded U.S. imports from that country since 1975 by a ratio of six to one, and 65 to 80 percent of these exports have been agricultural commodities, especially corn and wheat. Thus, on the average, over 60 percent of total trade turnover has consisted of U.S. agricultural exports to the U.S.S.R.

## The European Experience

The countries of Western Europe have also entered into trade and economic cooperation agreements with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. Many agreements were negotiated and signed after the Helsinki Final Act, although some of these new agreements replaced those that were signed before 1975 and had expired.

While the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) aggregately are involved in a very large portion of East-West trade, in late 1974, the EEC terminated all of the bilateral trade agreements between its members and the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These agreements were to be replaced by joint EEC agreements with the individual European CMEA countries. The new agreements were to be negotiated by the EEC Commission, located in Brussels. The EEC member countries were permitted to continue the terms of the previous bilateral agreements until these joint agreements could be negotiated and brought into force.

In response to this EEC action, the CMEA presented a draft recognition agreement to the EEC in February 1976, with an explicit reference to the Final Act. The intention was to establish relations between the two international bodies, who could then set the terms for trade between the member countries. There were intitial discussions, but no EEC-CMEA agreement was reached on the grounds that the CMEA is not the same type of international economic organization as the EEC in that it has no common trade policy or tariff schedule. In July 1980, Romania concluded a trade agreement with the EEC, the only European CMEA country to do so. A mixed commission between the EEC and Romania was set up at the same time to promote reciprocal visits of delegations to discuss trade questions and to facilitate the organization of trade fairs and exhibitions. In 1983, Hungary began to express its interest in negotiating an agreement with the European Economic Community.

Thus, while the non-EEC West European signatories have trade agreements with the various European CMEA countries, most of the post-1975 East-West agreements have been on long-term economic and industrial cooperation which highlight goals and intentions rather than set the actual terms of trade. For example, on May 6, 1978, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union signed a 25 year agreement on economic cooperation. "Being aware that the deepening of economic, industrial and technical cooperation in Europe in accordance with the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe...serves the cause of detente and peace in Europe and the whole world," the two governments stated their commitment to further develop cooperation, to encourage the exchange of information and to facilitate business contacts. Under this agreement, in terms of indexed unit values, F.R.G. imports from the U.S.S.R. almost doubled from 1975 to 1979 while exports increased by about 20 percent. On July 1, 1980, a new agreement was reached on a long term program for economic cooperation. By 1983, trade between the two countries was 124 percent greater than the trade of 1975.

Due to the large number of bilateral agreements between West and East European participating states, a catalogue of these agreements is found at the end of this chapter. As with the F.R.G.-U.S.S.R. agreements mentioned above, many of these cite the Helsinki Final Act as a basis for their desire to facilitate trade and economic cooperation. And, although generally not extended for as long a period a time as the F.R.G.-U.S.S.R. agreements, these other bilateral agreements were also catalysts to increased trade. Within the framework of these agreements, the bilateral trade relationships often greatly developed in the post-Helsinki period.

West German trade with the other countries of Eastern Europe also showed improvements in the post-Helsinki period. F.R.G.-Hungarian trade increased by 85 percent from 1975 to 1983, F.R.G.-Czechoslovak trade by 48 percent over the same period, and F.R.G.-Bulgarian trade by 40 percent. F.R.G. officials cited trade with Hungary and Bulgaria as having diversified the most. From 1975 to 1983, F.R.G. trade with Poland and Romania declined in volume. However, this was not a consistent decline over the years but the result of special economic and political circumstances in the early 1980s. As stated earlier, U.S. trade with these two countries also declined in the early 1980s (although it significantly recovered in regard to Romania), and most of the other Western signatory states experienced similar declines in their trade with Poland and Romania.

F.R.G.-G.D.R. trade more than doubled between 1975 and 1983, despite the fact that it has deteriorated in the last two years due to East German debt worries and West German economic slowdown.

According to Austrian officials, the Helsinki Final Act gave the impetus to encourage cooperation through trade agreements with the countries of Eastern Europe. These agreements, in turn, assisted in the growth of Austria's trade with those countries since 1975. It is most evident in trade relations with the U.S.S.R., which increased 275 percent from 1975 to 1983, and with the G.D.R., which nearly tripled in volume since 1975. Austrian trade with Bulgaria doubled in the post-Helsinki period, and trade with Hungary and Czechoslovakia increased by 70 percent and 64 percent respectively.

Finnish trade with the countries of Eastern Europe, particularly the Soviet Union, was well-established before the signing of the Helsinki Final Act and before the development of East-West trade in general. Trade between Finland and the Soviet Union is defined by a trade agreement concluded in 1947. Finland permitted the duty-free entry of Soviet-made goods after a customs agreement was reached in 1960. This is not to say that there were no further developments in the period after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Since 1977, the Finns and the Soviets have attempted to set development targets for trade, extending up to fifteen years. Estimates of trade volume by five-year periods up to 1990 are contained in the long-term program signed in 1977 and are revised and extended every fifth year.

Finland's trade with the other European CMEA countries is not as well planned, but is nevertheless carefully monitored. Trade with Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary is carried on under a bilateral trade system and bilateral payments agreements in which payments are effected through clearing accounts. The Romanian-Finnish bilateral trade system was abolished in 1982 and replaced by a ten-year trade agreement and a clearing of accounts by convertible currencies. Agreements on the reciprocal removal of barriers to trade were concluded with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the G.D.R., Hungary and Poland in the mid-1970s. In addition, in May 1973, Finland reached an agreement for cooperation with the Council on Mutual and Economic Assistance as a whole, rather than with the member countries on a bilateral basis.

The result of these agreements has been a dramatic increase in trade between Finland and the European CMEA countries. For example, from 1975 to 1980, Finnish trade with Bulgaria increased by 183 percent, although the level of trade was never very high. Trade with Hungary increased by 160 percent over the same period, with Romania by 157 percent, with Czechoslovakia by 98 percent, with the G.D.R. by 77 percent and with Poland by 39 percent. Because of the high degree of planning, Finnish trade with Eastern Europe is relatively balanced, but the increase in the post-Helsinki period has been primarily in the area of imports, particularly from the Soviet Union. Finnish imports from the U.S.S.R. increased 158 percent from 1975 to 1980, making up 86 percent of total Finnish imports from the European CMEA countries and almost one-half of total Finnisn trade with those countries in 1980.

French trade with Eastern Europe also increased in the post-Helsinki period, largely due to the the various agreements reached between France and the European CMEA countries. As with the Federal Republic of Germany and the other EEC countries, there are no bilateral trade agreements between France and the individual East European countries other than the EEC-Romanian Agreement. However, there are numerous bilateral economic cooperation agreements. Economic relations with the Soviet Union, which makes up approximately one-half of France's total trade with Eastern Europe, exists under a June 1966 framework agreement, which set up a number of bilateral bodies to promote French-Soviet trade. In addition, other French-Soviet agreements were signed in 1979 to promote economic relations, and agreements of a similar though less structured nature were reached with the other European CMEA countries. And while the share of trade with Eastern Europe in total French trade declined in the late 1970s and early 1980s, French trade did nevertheless increase in value for all East European countries, and trade with the G.D.R. and Romania increased in proportion to total French trade. From 1975 to 1981, according to U.N. statistics, French trade with these two countries increased 112 and 150 percent respectively. Trade with the Soviet Union increased 77 percent from 1975 to 1981, while trade with Bulgaria and Hungary increased by 61 percent and 55 percent respectively. French trade with Poland and Czechoslovakia increased minimally.

Norway, not being a member of the EEC, has concluded trade agreements with all of the countries of Eastern Europe. Of those agreements, the Polish-Norwegian agreement and the Romanian-Norwegian agreement were reached in the the period after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, specifically on March 29, 1976 and on November 14, 1980 respectively. Economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreements between Norway and all of the European CMEA countries, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, have also been concluded. As a percentage of total trade, Norwegian trade with these countries has decreased. In terms of current U.S. dollars, however, trade with Poland increased 60 percent from 1975 to 1980, primarily in the sales of Polish ships to Norway and Norwegian ship equipment to Poland. Hungarian-Norwegian trade increased at a higher rate during this same period, over 88 percent, but this trade was a much lower value than Polish-Norwegian trade. Norwegian trade with the U.S.S.R. and with Czechoslovakia increased by only about 13 percent, and trade with Romania by only half that.

Trade with Bulgaria and the G.D.R. decreased from 1975 to 1980. While much of this trade is not dramatic on face value, it should be pointed out that Norway does not import energy resources from the European CMEA countries as do many of the West European countries. Thus, any trade increases are not a result of the tremendous increase in the price of oil and other energy resources in the late 1970s which caused great increments in the East-West trade of many of the West European countries.

## Business Contacts and Facilities

The Helsinki Final Act calls upon the participating states to take certain measures that will improve the conditions for the expansion of contacts between firms, enterprises and banks, with an emphasis on contacts between sellers and users. The signatories also pledged to encourage the acceleration of the conduct of business negotiations and the improvement of working conditions for foreign firms, enterprises and banks, such as better hotel accommodations, office facilities and improved means of communication. Proper facilities and necessary access to officials and end-users were recognized to be instrumental to the further expansion of bilateral commercial ties.

Contacts and bilateral discussions on improving facilities take place on two levels. The first is inter-governmental, between the trade officials of the two governments involved. These contacts often take the form of joint economic commissions and are useful in clarifying laws and policies of the respective governments as well as indicating economic trends and possibilities. The second is the private level, involving representatives of businesses collectively and their counterparts in other countries. In many cases these two forms of contact are combined. Most of the joint commissions or councils between the East and West Europeans are "mixed" in that the Western delegations are comprised of both public and private sector representatives. In the United States, however, the two forms are kept separate.

Many of the positive bilateral developments which have taken place are the result of limited unilateral efforts on part of some European CMEA countries, acting in the spirit of the Final Act, to improve the conditions for Western firms in their respective countries. While these efforts have not made business facilities comparable to what is available in other countries, they nevertheless did improve the conditions for Western businessmen in Eastern Europe. For example, Czechoslovakia announced that, as of January 1, 1976, it would permit the establishment of permanent offices by Western firms. The decision, announced in Prague on November 11, 1975, was described by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek, as an effort taken by the Czecholsovak Government to apply the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. By early 1984, over 40 Western firms had received approval to open offices in Czechoslovakia. Bulgaria, the only remaining European CMEA country not to permit Western business offices, soon followed. On December 3, 1975, the

Bulgarian Government announced that it would grant permission to foreign firms to open offices in Bulgaria for a period of up to two years, with renewals allowed for additional two-year periods. Thus, in the months immediately following Helsinki, all European CMEA countries permitted the establishment of offices by Western firms, although each under different and often restrictive regulations.

To house these offices, foreign trade centers were constructed in many of the countries in the late 1970s. In October 1975, the 38-story foreign trade building, "Intraco," was opened for Western offices in Poland. According to Business International, a private organization which monitors developments in East-West trade, in addition to the office space, there are two large conference halls, two smaller ones, an exhibition hall and other facilities. While opening in the post-Helsinki period, the construction of the building had been going on for some time. The Intertrade Center, located in Budapest, opened on February 1, 1977, with interpreter services, telex machines, meeting and exhibition rooms, a car rental agency, a travel bureau and other facilities. To accommodate business in the German Democratic Republic, in September 1978, a twenty-five story International Trade Center was opened in East Berlin, with a new hotel within the Center's complex. By mid-June 1980, five American firms had established offices in the Trade Center. And, in October 1980, the International Trade Center, run by the Soviet FTO Sovincenter, and containing office space, conference halls and other facilities, opened its doors to Western businesses in Moscow. The ground-breaking ceremonies for the Center were held September 1, 1975, exactly one month after the signing of the Final Act. Romania had announced plans for the construction of a foreign trade center, but postponed the construction indefinitely after the earthquake which hit the country in March 1977. In the spring of 1981, Bulgaria announced plans to build a trade center.

Related to the establishment of trade centers is the creation of new hotel accommodations to house businessmen as well as tourists and other visitors to the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Hungary constructed many new first-class hotels such as the Budapest Hilton which was completed in February 1977, increasing the availability of hotel accommodation in Budapest to about 4,500 rooms. In addition, many older hotels were renovated during the 1980s. Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union also built many new hotels or renovated older ones for the use of Western visitors, including businessmen, who often establish temporary offices in these facilities.

The European CMEA countries took other steps brought about many positive developments in the post-Helsinki period. Hungary expanded the facilities at the international exhibition fairgrounds in the Kobanya suburbs of Budapest in 1980, and, in 1979, instituted new regulations permitting an increasing number of end-users in Hungary to become more active in seeking out

Western business representatives, thus circumventing the foreign trade organizations. In 1980, the Bulgarian Industrial Economic Association, an organization representing a majority of Bulgarian enterprises and through whom Western businesses can make initial contacts, was established. The Soviet Union also set up a special organization, Expocenter, in 1977, under the authority of the U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce and Industry to handle the preparation and coordination of all trade fairs in the U.S.S.R and assist the growing number of Western companies doing business in the Soviet Union.

## The U.S. Experience

In general, since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, there has been some improvement in business contacts and facilities between the United States and the European CMEA countries, although this is rather difficult to quantify. As John Hardt, a Senior Specialist at the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, stated in 1980, "the quantity and quality of contacts have increased more rapidly than the trade turnover between the nations of East and West. Governmental commissions, chambers of commerce, accreditation and in-country facilities (including trade centers) have all moved forward." J. Mishell George, Deputy Assistant Commerce Secretary for East-West Trade under the Carter Administration, confirmed this point, stating that "it is impossible to report the exact numbers of trade contacts made between U.S. businessmen and their East European counterparts since the Final Act was adopted, but there can be little doubt that this largely unofficial and private network of trade contacts has increased since August of 1975."

As mentioned above, in the United States, the two forms of joint commissions are separate. Prior to 1975, the U.S. Government, through the Department of Commerce, established joint economic commissions with the Soviet Union, Romania, Poland and, in the post-Helsinki period, with Hungary. On the private level, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce established economic councils with Romania, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria before the Final Act was signed and with Czechoslovakia after 1975. Two other private councils exist outside the framework of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council and the U.S.-G.D.R. Trade and Economic Council. Both the inter-governmental and the private bodies are instrumental in implementing Basket II. Their importance and the Final Act's role in their activity was summed up by Susan Lotarski of the U.S. Department of Commerce who, in 1977, wrote:

> "There is no doubt that the commissions can play a significant part in furthering the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. The joint commissions provide each of the signatories a mechanism through which they can strive bilaterally towards accomplishing its goals...The work of each commission should reinforce the efforts of the other and thus

> hasten fulfillment of both the Final Act's and the commissions' objectives. Concerted effort to implement the guidelines and recommendations of the Final Act, in turn, cannot help but infuse added vitality and effectiveness to the life of the joint commercial commissions."

Most post-Helsinki activity between U.S. and Romanian trade officials has taken place under the inter-governmental American-Romanian Economic Commission, created in December 1973 during the visit of President Ceausescu to Washington. Approximately one month after the Helsinki summit, an experts meeting took place under the aegis of the Commission which focused on industrial cooperation. At the Commission's second session, held in Washington D.C. on November 3-4, 1975, both sides agreed to work for the further expansion and diversification of their economic and commercial relations, along the lines contained in Basket II. The following year's meeting in Bucharest reviewed the study begun as a result of the experts meeting on industrial cooperation and reaffirmed previous trade growth targets. The fourth session was held in Washington in November 1977. The Commission was given responsibility for monitoring the Long-Term Agreement on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation, signed in November 1976. In April 1979, Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps visited Bucharest as the head of the U.S. Delegation to the fifth meeting of the Commission. Other sessions were held in April 1980 and June 1982 in Washington, and May 1981 and October 1983 in Bucharest. U.S. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige attended both of the latter two meetings. A working group of the Commission also met in Bucharest in late 1982. The working group's agenda includes trade policy, cooperation in industrial fields and trade-related legal and regulatory matters. In short, the American-Romanian Economic Commission has met regularly since its founding and has become the central forum for intergovernmental discussion of U.S.-Romanian economic relations in the post-Helsinki period.

In addition to the joint Commission meetings, there have been other visits of a commercial nature between government officials of the United States and Romania since 1975. One example was the Romanian Agricultural Delegation, headed by Romania's Vice-Premier and Agricultural Minister Angelo Miculescu, which visited the United States one month after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. The visit concluded with the signing of the Protocol on Development of Agricultural Trade and the Protocol on Cooperation of Agriculture. U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz reciprocated with a visit to Romania later that year. On May 23-26, 1977, the first meeting of the U.S.-Romanian Agricultural Working Group took place in Bucharest, and in June 1976, U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon visited Romania for two days, where he discussed various financial and trade issues with high-level Romanian officials.

More recently, Romanian officials have visited the United States, including Deputy Prime Minister Cornel Burtica in April 1980. In addition to heading the Romanian Delegation to the sixth joint Commission meeting, Burtica also met with the President and Vice-President, the Secretaries of Commerce and Agriculture, and the U.S. Special Trade Representative.

According to Business International, Romania organizes two major international trade fairs annually: the Bucharest International Fair, held in the autumn of even-numbered years; and the International Technical Exhibition, TECHNOEXPO, held every odd-numbered year. While the United States Department of Commerce had sponsored events at the Bucharest International Fair for many years, the U.S. Government participated in TECHNOEXPO for the first time in 1979, sponsoring a commercial exhibition of quality control instrumentation.

The primary forum for private sector contacts between the United States and Romania has been the Romania-U.S. Economic Council. This body was created by the chambers of commerce of the two countries on December 4, 1973. The third session of the Council, meeting in Bucharest on June 23-25, 1976, was the first post-Helsinki meeting and was considered quite productive. In addition to discussions of the Romanian Five-Year Plan, and possibilities for U.S.-Romanian trade and cooperation in the industrial and technical fields improvements were made in the procedures for the settlement of commercial disputes. Methods to improve marketing techniques were also discussed. In December 1976, the Council sponsored a workshop on U.S.-Romanian trade and problems that have arisen in the course of that trade. Since then, the Council has alternated its annual meeting sites between the U.S. and Romania.

There have been many positive developments in regard to bilateral activity between the United States and Hungary since August 1975. The U.S.-Hungarian Agreement on Trade Relations, signed in 1978, established the U.S.-Hungarian Economic and Commercial Committee, designed to be the major inter-governmental forum for the discussion of U.S.-Hungarian trade. The Committee first met in March 1979 in Budapest and again in Washington in April of the following year. The third session, held in Budapest on May 11-12, 1981, in addition to discussing joint venture regulations, U.S. import and export regulations, and other trade-related matters, provided the framework for the Departments of State and Commerce to facilitate the settlement of a dispute between a U.S. agricultural chemical producer and a Hungarian foreign trade enterprise. At the fourth session, which also met in Budapest in November 1982, participants primarily discussed the import restrictions imposed the previous September by Hungary on a number of products in reaction to its hard-currency shortages. The fifth meeting was held in early December 1983 in Washington.

There also have been many other inter-governmental activities between the U.S. and Hungary, such as visiting trade delegations. For example, in November 1975, a high-level delegation from the Hungarian chemical industry visited the United States to examine the possibilities for long-term cooperation in production, research and development and for purchases of technology and equipment. In addition to visiting firms in the pharmaceutical, rubber, fertilizer and chemical fields, the delegation met with U.S. Department of Commerce officials. In May 1976, Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Gyula Szeker visited the United States as a guest of U.S. Commerce Secretary Elliott Richardson, meeting with President Gerald Ford, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz and Treasury Secretary William Simon, in addition to visiting leaders of the American business community in New York, Detroit and Chicago. In June of that year, a U.S. Patent and Licensing Delegation traveled throughout Eastern Europe, including Hungary. The primary purpose of the delegation was to provide the U.S. Government, as well as the American business community, with a better understanding of technology trade with the East European countries. In late November 1976, Commerce Secretary Richardson visited Hungary where he met with Hungarian officials, attended a roundtable meeting at the Chamber of Commerce, and visited the Radelkis Medical Instruments Cooperative, the first joint venture between a Hungarian enterprise and an American firm, Corning International.

After the signing of the Trade Agreement in 1978, contacts between government officials developed even further. In February 1979, the Deputy President of the National Bank of Hungary, Janos Fekete, visited the United States to explore the possibilities of credit relations with Eximbank. In July 1979, Deputy Prime Minister Istvan Huszar arrived in the United States to discuss trade matters with Government officials. The following year, Hungarian State Secretary for Metallurgy and Heavy Industry Istvan Juhasz paid a visit to Washington, and seven members of the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade, led by Subcommittee Chairman Charles Vanik, visited Hungary. Other Hungarian officials to visit the United States on trade matters include Deputy Central Committee Chief Bela Szikszai in November 1980, Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress in November 1981 and December 1983, and Miklos Barta, Deputy Minister for the Council on International Economic Cooperation, and Jozsef Nemeth, a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in October 1982. A delegation of the Subcommittee on Trade of the House Ways and Means Committee, led by Subcommittee Chairman Sam Gibbons, visited Hungary in December 1983.

The United States Government also has participated in many of the international trade fairs held in Hungary. For example, on May 19-27, 1976, the Commerce Department sponsored an exhibition at the Budapest International Spring Fair. This was the first such American exhibition to be visited by an official

Hungarian delegation. The group was led by Party Secretary Karoly Nemeth and included Deputy Premiers Gyula Szeker, Gyorgy Aczel and Ferenc Havasi, Minister of Heavy Industry Tivadar Nemelaki, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Bela Szalai.

In May 1980, the Commercial Development Center at the American Embassy in Budapest opened to assist American businessmen doing business in Hungary. Its services and facilities include advice on market opportunities, general counseling, arranging appointments, providing means of communication and a library.

Not only did the United State participate in many trade promotion activities in Hungary in the post-Helsinki period, the Hungarian Government also undertook efforts to increase economic relations between the two countries by promoting trade in the United States. In November 1977, the Hungarians sponsored a series of economic-technical days throughout the United States. This was the first such activity in the United States sponsored by the Hungarian Government and consisted of one-day seminars in Washington, New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Visits by Hungarian technical experts to scientific meetings and conventions ensued in the following year. Hungary was the only European CMEA country represented by a pavilion at the World Energy Fair which took place in Knoxville, Tennessee, in early 1982.

In addition to these seminars, in the post-Helsinki period Hungary opened up an branch of the Hungarian National Bank in New York in September 1977 and, under the terms of the Trade Agreement between the two countries, a Hungarian Commercial Office was opened in Chicago in late December 1978.

The private sector has been very active in promoting U.S.-Hungarian trade since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. The Hungarian-U.S. Economic Council was established on March 14, 1975, by the chambers of commerce of both countries. It has become an important vehicle for business contacts between American businessmen and their Hungarian colleagues in the post-Helsinki period. The first joint meeting took place in Budapest on November 10-11, 1975, and discussed possibilities for industrial and technical cooperation between U.S. and Hungarian firms and the possible establishment of a conciliation procedure for the resolution of commercial disputes. The second joint meeting, in Washington on September 27-28, 1976, discussed many of the same topics. Members of the Hungarian delegation estimated that $60-70 million worth of business deals may have been concluded as a result of that meeting. The U.S. Section of the Council, along with the Department of Commerce, assisted the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce in the organization of a series of seminars which took place in the United States in November 1977, as previously mentioned. In October 1978, the Council conducted a seminar in Chicago entitled "Trading and Investing in Hungary: Opportunities under MFN." The Council also held its fourth meeting that month in Chicago, which discussed marketing in the United States and Hungarian industrial development and foreign trade plans. The Council has held five joint meetings since then: in Budapest in October 1979; Houston, Texas, in October 1980; Budapest in October 1981; Washington in October 1982; and Budapest in 1983. During its meetings in Budapest, the members of the U.S. Delegation have met with many high-level Hungarian trade officials, including the Minister of Foreign Trade, Peter Veress.

The United States and Poland also have a joint, intergovernmental body, the joint American-Polish Trade Commission, established in mid-1972. The Commission has played an important role in U.S.-Polish trade relations in the post-Helsinki period by discussing many new aspects of trade relations and overseeing new agreements and protocols reached between the United States and Poland. The first post-Helsinki meeting was the fifth session, which took place in Warsaw on October 6-8, 1975. The Polish delegation submitted a list of specific industrial sectors and projects which offer the best possibilities for cooperation between American firms and their Polish counterparts. The sixth session was held the following September in Washington where, apart from the normal items of discussion, negotiations began on a new bilateral airworthiness agreement. Subsequent meetings took place in November 1977 and May 1980 in Warsaw. At the eighth session in Washington in November 1978, U.S. Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps and Polish Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski signed the Agreement on the Participation of Small and Medium-Sized Firms and Economic Organizations in Trade and Industrial Cooperation, which specifically reaffirms implementation of the Final Act as a goal of both the United States and Poland. In April 1981, an Executive Session of the Commission was held in Washington, attended by U.S. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige and Polish First Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski and other high-level Polish officials from the Ministries of Finance and Foreign Trade and the Planning Commission. Baldrige also met in Executive Session with Deputy Prime Minister Zhigniew Madej on December 7, 1981. The Commission's working group on industrial cooperation met on December 3-4, 1981. There have been no meetings of the Joint Commission since the Polish declaration of martial law on December 13, 1981.

There also have been many visits involving governmental officials from both countries in the post-Helsinki period. U.S. Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz, in November 1975, visited Poland, where he and Polish Agriculture Minister Kazimierz Barcikowski announced that an understanding had been reached on long-term grain sales from the United States to Poland. The understanding reaffirmed the principles of the October 1974 U.S.-Polish Joint Statement of Development of Agricultural Trade. In January 1976, a Polish trade delegation visited the United States to discuss with Commerce Department and Eximbank officials prospective deals with two American firms, RCA and Corning International. Later that year, on June 22-23, Treasury

Secretary William Simon visited Poland, where he met with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Edward Gierek, and various other high-level officials responsible for economic affairs. During the visit, Simon and Finance Minister Henryk Kisiel participated in the exchange of instruments of ratification of the bilateral convention on the avoidance of double taxation. Later that year, Vice Premier Kazimierz Olszewski and several other top officials visited the United States to attend the sixth session of the American-Polish Trade Commission.

In 1977, several Polish delegations visited the United States to discuss trade issues. In February, a delegation arrived in Washington to discuss the Treasury Department's proposals for handling countervailing duty complaints against non-market economies, and the following month another delegation arrived to review U.S. anti-dumping measures taken in response to U.S. importation of Polish golf carts. That October, the Polish Minister of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy visited the United States to discuss trade matters with U.S. Government officials.

In June 1978, a delegation from the Polish Ministry of Mining arrived and met with U.S. specialists on coal research at the Department of Energy and discussed cooperation in coal gasification projects. In August, Vice Minster of Finance and President of the National Bank of Poland Witold Bien visited the United States at the invitation of the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, G. William Miller. In October, Vice Minister of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy Zylkowski led a Polish delegation to the United States to discuss cooperation in ship-building and other maritime issues. Polish Deputy Prime Minister Jagielski returned to the United States in November to attend the eighth session of the joint Commission. In September 1978, Deputy Assistant Commerce Secretary Kempton P. Jenkins visited Warsaw.

The high-level contacts continued throughout 1979, 1980 and 1981. In 1979, Polish Foreign Minister Emil Wojtaszek, Deputy Finance Minister Marian Krzak and Deputy Minister for Technology and Higher Education Kazimierczuk visited the United States while Acting Deputy Agriculture Secretary Schuh, Deputy Assistant Secretaries of Commerce Kempton Jenkins and Samuel Nemirow and Treasury Under Secretary Anthony Solomon visited Poland. In 1980, Deputy Minister Krzak again visited the United States while Commerce Secretary Philip Klutznick visited Poland as the head of the U.S. Delegation to the ninth session of the American-Polish Trade Commission. In April 1981, as part of the Polish Delegation to the Executive Committee meeting of the joint Commission, First Deputy Prime Minister Jagielski, Deputy Finance Minister Bien, Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Antoni Karas and Deputy Planning Commission Chairman Dlugosz arrived in the United States. In addition to meeting with Commerce Secretary Baldrige, Jagielski met with Vice President George Bush. The joint Commission's meeting in early December

1981, held in Washington, was attended by Deputy Prime Minister Madej, who met with Vice President Bush and Treasury Secretary Donald Regan in addition to the Commerce Secretary. Since the imposition of martial law in mid-December 1981, no high-level officials from either the United States or Poland have visited the other country. A lower-level delegation was sent to the U.S. by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Trade to negotiate the Agreement on Limiting Imports of Specialty Steel, which entered into force on October 18, 1983.

Poland, like the other European CMEA countries, holds annual international trade fairs and, occasionally, specialized trade fairs. Since the signing of the Final Act and until the imposition of martial law, the U.S. Government participated in many of these fairs by sponsoring exhibitions and other activities. The major Polish trade fair is the Poznan Fair, usually held for ten days, beginning in early to mid-June.

There were also many trade-related seminars in Poland sponsored by the Department of Commerce in the post-Helsinki period. Many of these events have taken place at the U.S. Trade Development Center, located in Warsaw. The Center, which existed before the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, also provides facilities for U.S. companies doing business in Poland.

In regard to private sector activities, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade established the Polish-U.S. Economic Council on October 8, 1974. The first joint meeting took place in Warsaw on September 8 and 9, 1975, a little more than a month after the Helsinki summit. Both sides confirmed their commitment to the free flow of trade and services between the two countries and agreed to study a proposal for an optional procedure for conciliation of commercial disputes. The second session convened in Washington in May 1976, with the Polish side meeting with Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and Members of Congress. It was preceded by a workshop entitled, "Doing Business in Poland." In May 1977, a record number of 155 businessmen and government officials from both sides attended the third meeting in Warsaw. At this meeting, the Council adopted an optional agreement for pre-arbitral conciliation and the Council sponsored a workshop on entering the U.S. market. The Council met again in May 1978. In April 1979, a seminar on industrial cooperation, held in Chicago, was sponsored by the Council. The following month, the fifth session met in Krakow and the sixth session was held in May 1980 in Chicago. In March 1981, the Agribusiness Working Group of the Council was established in Washington. For a while after the declaration of martial law, Poland continued to look for opportunities to cooperate with the United States through the Council. In early 1984, however, the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade canceled its participation in the meeting of the Council, apparently because of strained relations.

In regard to bilateral trade relations between Czechoslovakia and the United States, there have been certain improvements made by both governments in the area of contacts and business facilitation since 1975. In the way of visits and trade delegations, in June 1976, a U.S. Patent and Licensing Delegation visited Czechoslovakia to study trade and technology transfer between the two countries. In October 1979, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce for East-West Trade Kempton Jenkins visited Prague to discuss trade developments with Czechoslovak officials. In September 1981, Jenkin's successor, Eugene Lawson, also visited Prague. And in December 1983, a delegation of members of the Subcommittee on Trade of the House Ways and Means Committee, visited Czechoslovakia and met with high-level trade officials.

The U.S. Department of Commerce has sponsored exhibitions at international trade fairs in Czechoslovakia, such as the exhibition on industrial instrumentation and materials test equipment at the Brno International Engineering Fair in mid-September 1975. Other themes of U.S. exhibitions at subsequent Brno Fairs included laboratory instrumentation, energy control systems, and electronic instrumentation.

In late 1978, the United States opened a Business Facilitation Center at the U.S. Embassy in Prague, the purpose of which was to assist American firms dealing with Czechoslovakia. The Center arranges exhibitions or symposia for interested firms, provides market research, and assists in the establishment of contacts with Czechoslovak Governmental or Foreign Trade Organization (FTO) officials.

Another positive development between the United States and Czechoslovakia was the establishment of direct dial telephone service between the two countries in late 1983. Czechoslovakia established direct dialing with the Federal Republic of Germany in the Fall of 1976 and already had such service with Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

There have also been positive developments in the private sector. The Chambers of Commerce of the United States and Czechoslovakia established the Czechoslovak-U.S. Economic Council on October 17, 1975, two and one-half months after the Final Act was signed. The Washington signing ceremony establishing the Council was attended by the highest-ranking Czechoslovak commercial delegation to visit the United States in many years. After the signing ceremony, a group of industry leaders from Czechoslovakia toured the United States for one week, visiting American businessmen in Milwaukee, New Orleans, Los Angeles and San Francisco, concluding with a seminar on doing business in Czechoslovakia at the World Trade Center in New York.

The first session of the Czechoslovak-U.S. Economic Council took place in Prague in mid-June 1976. Discussion centered around the economic outlook of both countries, the status of bilateral commercial relations and possible future cooperative activities. The second session took place in Washington on October 26-27, 1977, and the third in Prague on September 11-12, 1978. In April 1979, a seminar on trade and industrial cooperation sponsored by the Council was held in Boston, and the Executive Committee of the Council met in New York that same month. The Council next met in New York on June 8-9, 1980. After the conclusion of that session, the Czechoslovaks hosted a seminar in Atlanta, "Trading with Czechoslovakia," attended by 50 U.S. companies. The Council's Executive Committee met again in September 1981 and the Council held a session in Prague in September 1982. In October 1983, the head of the U.S. Section of the Council, Fred Kuhlman, traveled to Prague and met with the Ministers of Foreign Trade and Foreign Affairs.

The United States and the German Democratic Republic have not developed their economic relationship very extensively. Most of the positive developments that have occurred between the two countries, however, took place in the post-Helsinki period.

While there is no joint U.S.-GDR inter-governmental economic commission, on April 13, 1977, the privately-sponsored U.S.-G.D.R. Trade and Economic Council was established and held its first meeting with its East German counterpart, the G.D.R.-U.S. Trade and Economic Council on June 15-16 of that year. The purpose of the two councils is similar to that of the private councils set up under the auspices of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. At the first session, joint subcommittee meetings were held on banking and finance, trade, and science and technology. Joint work programs, noting mutual objectives in these areas, were agreed upon. In March 1978, the two Councils held their second joint session in Leipzig. Their third session took place in Washington in May 1979, the fourth session occurred in Leipzig and East Berlin in September 1980 and the fifth session was held in Washington in October 1981. While the U.S.-G.D.R. Trade and Economic Council is a private organization, made up of approximately 20 U.S. firms, U.S. Government officials have participated in some of the meetings.

Under the auspices of the two Trade and Economic Councils, from May 9-16, 1978, the German Democratic Republic held an Economic/Technological Congress in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The Congress included a series of lectures and presentations on trade opportunities, scientific and technological cooperation, and specific industrial sectors.

In December 1975, a G.D.R. foreign trade delegation, led by Ministry of Foreign Trade State Secretary Dr. Gerhard Beil, visited the United States and met with U.S. Commerce Secretary Rogers Morton, officials from Eximbank, the Departments of State and Treasury, and Members of Congress. After these meetings, Dr. Beil traveled throughout the United States, meeting with representatives of various U.S. firms. In mid-May

1976, a U.S. Patent and Licensing Delegation arrived in the G.D.R. to study technology transfer between the two countries. The delegation was headed by Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Science and Technology Betsy Anker-Johnson. In mid-November 1977, Dr. Beil returned to the United States and met with Commerce Secretary Elliott Richardson. In May 1978, he again visited the United States, this time to open the G.D.R.'s first Economic/Technological Congress in the United States. Assistant Commerce Secretary Frank Weil traveled to Leipzig in March 1979, as did Assistant Commerce Secretary Herta Lande Seidman the following September. In October 1981, Foreign Trade State Secretary Beil again visited the United States, this time to open the fifth session of the G.D.R.-U.S. and the U.S.-G.D.R. Trade and Economic Councils. Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier accompanied Dr. Beil to meetings with Deputy Under Secretary of Agriculture Thomas Hammer, U.S. Trade Representative William Brock, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Walter Stoessel, Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade Lionel Olmer and Assistant Secretary of Commerce William Morris. Deputy Assistant Secretary for East-West Trade Eugene Lawson chaired an inter-agency roundtable on U.S.-G.D.R. trade relations with the East German delegation.

More recently, in December 1983, a Congressional delegation composed of members of the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee visited the German Democratic Republic, as did Agriculture Under Secretary Daniel Amstutz in January 1984.

The major trade fair in the German Democratic Republic is the Leipzig Fair, usually held twice a year. An extremely popular fair, it has had as many as 9,000 companies from over 60 countries, including some 1,500-2,000 Western firms, attending in recent years. At the Leipzig Spring Fair in mid-March 1976, the Department of Commerce sponsored the first official U.S. Government exhibition ever held in the German Democratic Republic.

The United States has also sponsored numerous seminars in the German Democratic Republic. Examples include: a chemical processing equipment technical sales seminar and a U.S. Government-approved trade mission of the National Machine Tool Builders' Association in 1975; a materials handling equipment and systems seminar in 1976; and a production/inventory controls technology and equipment seminar in 1979. Most trade-related activities, however, have taken place at the two annual trade fairs.

In other developments in the area of business contacts and facilities between the United States and the German Democratic Republic, an agreement was reached in 1978 on the issuance of multiple entry and exit visas, making it easier for businessmen to travel back and forth between the two countries. In late 1977, the United States gave permission to the G.D.R.'s machine tool foreign trade enterprise to open an office in New York.

And, on January 30, 1981, an "Agreement Regarding the Establishment of Branch Offices of the Commercial Sections of the Embassies of the United States and the German Democratic Republic" entered into force.

Regarding U.S.-Bulgarian cooperation in this field, there is no joint inter-governmental commercial commission for contact between trade officials of the two countries. There have been occasional contacts, however, through various visits and delegations. On April 27-28, 1976, U.S. Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz visited Bulgaria and met with the Chairman of the State Council, Todor Zhivkov, the Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry, Gancho Krustev, and the Minister of Foreign Trade, Ivan Nedev. The following June, a U.S. Patent and Licensing Delegation visited Bulgaria, headed by C. Marshall Dann, Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks. On June 22, 1977, Vulkan Shopov, Chief of the Agricultural Section of the Control Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, visited the United States, where he met with officials from the Department of Agriculture. Soon after, officials from both countries began discussions which led to the 1979 Joint Statement on Agricultural Cooperation. Head of the Bulgarian National Agro-Industrial Union Vasil Tsanov attended the signing of this agreement in Washington. In March 1979, Bulgarian Minister of Machine Building Toncho Chakurov toured the United States. Deputy Foreign Trade Ministers Atanas Ginev and Georgi Pirinski arrived for visits in December 1979 and August 1980 respectively. Deputy Minister Ginev returned to Washington in June 1981, and met with officials from the Departments of Commerce, Treasury and State and from the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Deputy Minister Pirinski and Minister of Chemical Industry Georgi Pankov visited the United States in 1983. U.S. officials visiting Bulgaria include Commerce Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology Jordan Baruch in June 1980 and a Congressional delegation of the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee in December 1983.

The International Trade Fair in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, is held annually and has become a major East European trade fair. U.S. exibits have focused on general industrial equipment, food and tobacco processing equipment, chemical and construction industries, and industrial electronics.

In regard to private activities, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry created the Bulgarian-U.S. Economic Council as a channel of private contact on September 24, 1974. The Council held its first session in Sofia on September 1-2, 1975, one month after the Helsinki Final Act was signed. The meeting centered around many Basket II topics, such as timely access to relevant commercial information and expediting contract negotiations. Bulgarian Foreign Trade Minister Nedev spoke at the session and the U.S. delegation met with Chairman Zhivkov. The second session took place in the United States on March 14-15, 1977. Basket II subjects such as the possibilities for the expansion and diversification of trade were again discussed. The executive committees of both sections later met with U.S. Under Secretary of Commerce Sidney Harman, Under Secretary of Treasury Anthony Solomon, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Dale Hathaway and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Armitage. Other meetings of the Bulgarian-U.S. Economic Council took place in Sofia in March 1979 and in New York on June 23, 1981. In late 1982, for budgetary reasons, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce announced that it was ending its participation in the Economic Council. In May 1984, the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry sponsored a roundtable for U.S. businessmen in Sofia in an attempt to maintain the interest of American businesses in trade with Bulgaria.

As was acknowledged in the sections on trade growth and inter-governmental agreements, U.S.-Soviet commercial relations developed primarily in the early 1970s, prior to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Both an inter-governmental joint commercial commission and a private joint economic council were in existence prior to 1975, and the U.S. Commercial Office in Moscow was established in 1974. Many of the activities of these bodies, as well as U.S. participation in Soviet trade fairs, continued in the post-Helsinki period.

The Joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commercial Commission, which was established in May 1972, held its first session in the post-Helsinki period in Washington in June 1977. The U.S. Section was chaired by Secretary of the Treasury W. Michael Blumenthal and included Secretary of Commerce Juanita Kreps, Under Secretary of the Treasury Anthony Solomon and other officials from the Departments of State, Commerce and Treasury. The Soviet Delegation was led by Minister of Foreign Trade Nikolai Patolichev and included Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Bank V.S. Alkhimov, GOSPLAN Deputy Chairman N.N. Inozemtsev, the Soviet Trade Representative in the U.S.A., S.A. Mkrutmov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade V.N. Sushkov and other Soviet trade officials. Both sides expressed their commitment to the expansion of U.S.-Soviet trade. Two working groups met during the session. The main projects working group examined the possibilities for expanded U.S.-Soviet industrial cooperation in the fields of chemistry, natural gas extraction, pulp and paper, metallurgy and machine building. The business facilitation working group examined multiple-entry visas for U.S. businessmen in the U.S.S.R., accreditation of U.S. firms in Moscow, and the two-year extension of the Kama Purchasing Commission in the United States.

The next Joint Commission meeting took place in Moscow in December 1978. While in Moscow for the meeting, Secretaries Blumenthal and Kreps met with President Leonid Brezhnev. Secretary Kreps also announced during the visit that 73 outstanding requests for export licenses of oil and natural gas production equipment had received approval. Another meeting was scheduled for April 1980, but was postponed after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.

In addition to the sessions mentioned above, there were also various experts meetings, bilateral discussions, trade delegations and visits. For example, on December 17-19, 1975, an information-exchange seminar on the organizational and legal aspects of U.S.-U.S.S.R. trade was held in Moscow. The Soviet side explained and clarified the role of various Soviet organizations in industrial cooperation, presented a detailed description of Soviet export and import licensing, tariff and currency controls, and the legal and financial aspects of Soviet FTOs. The U.S. delegation made presentations on export controls, tariffs and customs, market disruption financing regulations and other subjects. The two countries held meetings on business facilities in Washington in June 1978 and February 1979, and in Moscow in November 1978 and April 1979. Some of the topics discussed included the taxation of American businesses located in the Soviet Union, visa matters and office accommodations. Soviet trade experts conducted a seminar on marketing in the U.S.S.R. in Washington on November 14-15, 1979.

Other trade delegations and visits have taken place since August 1975. In early September 1975, a Soviet delegation visited various private and government irrigation installations in Colorado, California and Washington. A delegation on automotive transport toured the United States later that year, as did a delegation that visited several U.S. firms in the livestock feed industry. In 1976, Soviet delegations to the United States included: a visit to the Concrete and Aggregates Show in Houston, Texas, in February; the May visit of a delegation interested in equipment production for atomic electric power stations; a delegation, led by the Minister of Agriculture of the Russian Republic, that visited many agri-business firms, including onion and potato processing facilities, in June; a delegation from the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building; and a delegation to study fast-food techniques, particularly microwave ovens. These are only a few examples of the delegations that visited the United States in 1976, and similar delegations made visits in 1977 through 1979.

U.S. delegations also visited the Soviet Union, although not in as great numbers as their Soviet counterparts. The official delegations were largely connected to specific meetings or negotiations, such as when Secretaries Blumenthal and Kreps traveled to Moscow in December 1978 to attend the Joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commercial Commission; in September 1979, when Assistant Secretary of Commerce Samuel Nemirow visited the Soviet Union for maritime talks; or, in August 1983, when Secretary of Agriculture John Block and U.S. Trade Representative William Brock arrived in Moscow to sign the 1983 Grain Agreement.

Unlike the other countries of Eastern Europe, according to Business International, the U.S.S.R. does not hold annual general trade fairs. Because the Soviet economy is so much larger, the Soviets have found it more practical to hold specialized fairs and exhibitions. The Department of Commerce sponsored exhibitions at many of these fairs in the period from August 1975 to December 1979. There were no U.S.-sponsored exhibits from that time until October 1983, when an exhibition entitled "Agri-business-USA" was held in Moscow.

During these same years, the U.S Government sponsored a number of seminars and exhibits at the U.S. Commercial Office in Moscow, which came into existence in 1974.

On the private level, the primary organization involved in Soviet-American trade is the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council, established in 1973 and consisting of over 200 U.S. firms and 100 Soviet organizations. In addition to holding annual meetings, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council has offices in New York and Moscow to assist its members. The first Council meeting after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act was an Executive Board Meeting in October 1975 in Washington, attended by U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon, who was the Council's Honorary Director, and the American and Soviet co-chairmen, Donald Kendall of Pepsico and Vladimir Alkhimov, Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade. President Gerald Ford met with the Council directors on October 7, 1975. In December 1976, the Council meeting was held in Moscow and was also attended by Secretary Simon. General Secretary Brezhnev hosted a dinner for the Council in the Kremlin. An Executive Meeting was held the following June in Washington, attended by Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev and Treasury Secretary Blumenthal, and the Council held its annual meeting in November 1977. In December 1978, coinciding with the Joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commercial Commission meeting in Moscow, the Council met again. The April 1980 meeting was postponed, due to the souring of U.S.-Soviet relations, but the Council maintained its normal activities of assisting businesses through its two offices. The Council held its Directors and Members meeting in Moscow in November 1982 and in New York in May 1984. The members of the Soviet delegation to the 1984 meeting, led by Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Vladimir Sushkov, met with Commerce Secretary Baldrige and other Administration officials.

## The European Experience

As with the United States, contacts between trade officials of Western and Eastern Europe also increased in the post-Helsinki period. Many of the previously mentioned improvements, such as permission to establish permanent offices and liberalized guidelines under which they can be established, have benefited both the United States and the West European countries in establishing closer contacts with Eastern trade officials and enterprises. Joint economic or trade commissions between Eastern and Western Europe also have played an important role in the post-Helsinki period. Susan Lotarski of the U.S. Department of Commerce noted a change of emphasis in the role of these commissions in the mid-1970s. Whereas initially the commissions "tended to be treated essentially as a fora for the consideration of complaints between the two parties, the commissions have now been given a more positive mission, stimulation of trade and commercial cooperation." In this changing role from negotiating trade terms to trade promotion, the West European countries expanded representation on the commissions from solely government officials to private business representatives, creating the now prevalent "mixed" commissions, which generally meet once a year.

Strictly private commissions have also been established. For example, the Italian Chamber of Commerce currently maintains joint commissions with the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Romania and Bulgaria.

F.R.G. officials have stated that business contacts with the European CMEA countries have been further developed since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, citing the growing number of offices maintained in the East by Western companies and the many East-West cooperative arrangements. They also take note of the fact that the number of Eastern firms permitted to trade with the West has increased, particularly in Poland and Hungary, and that such improvements have enabled small and medium-sized German firms to increase their overall share of trade with the European CMEA countries in recent years. F.R.G. officials also mentioned that the joint "mixed" commissions and other groups set up under various agreements on economic cooperation have contributed substantially to the development of West German trade with Eastern Europe.

Austria also noted the improvement of business contacts and facilities with some of the East European countries. For example, Austrian officials have noticed that G.D.R. foreign trade organizations have increased their interest in contacts in order to stimulate competition among foreign competitors. Recently, the G.D.R. expressed its willingness to dispense with a visa fee for Austrians wishing to conduct business. Austrian officials also observed that access to end-users has improved in Hungary and in Bulgaria, where the "New Economic Mechanism" was established in 1982, although Bulgarian enterprises are still unable to conduct foreign trade. The Austrians believe that as their economic relations with the European CMEA countries have intensified, so has the network of bilateral organizations, such as working groups and contact parties, and despite a partial decline in trade volume, those institutions continue to operate.

There have been many additional positive developments in East-West business contacts and trade facilitation. For example, in February 1976, according to Business International, Poland established direct dialing telephone service to Switzerland and Sweden, increasing the ability of businessmen to communicate with their home companies. In September 1976, Czechoslovakia did the same with the Federal Republic of Germany. And Western European governments and companies participated in many trade fairs in Eastern Europe. There were also numerous high-level delegations and visits between Eastern and Western Europe, such as the visit of Soviet President Brezhnev to the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1978 to sign the 25-year economic cooperation agreement. There is no doubt about the fact that, although East-West trade was not as dynamic in the late 1970s and early 1980s as it had been in the early to mid-1970s, the number of business contacts has increased and become regular in occurrence and sophisticated in discussion.

## Appendix 1

# TRADE AND ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN EUROPEAN CMEA AND WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES 1975-1984

The following is a list of trade and economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreements concluded and entered into force between the West European CSCE signatories and the East European CSCE signatories from August 1975 to October 1984 as compiled by the Committee on the Development of Trade of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

Legend:
E = Economic
I = Industrial
S = Scientific
Sh = Shipping
T = Trade Agreement
Tc = Technical Cooperation
Tr = Transport

### A. Agreements Concluded by: AUSTRIA

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | E, I, S-Tc | June 3, 1982 | 1982-1987 |
| 2. C.S.S.R. | T | Dec. 4, 1981 | 1982-1986 |
| 3. G.D.R. | T | Nov. 11, 1980 | 1980-1991 |
| 4. Hungary | E, I, Tc | Sept. 15, 1978 | 1979-1989 |
| 5. Poland | T | Sept. 22, 1976 | 1977-1981**/ |
| 6. Romania | T | May 20, 1976 | 1976-1985 |
| 7. U.S.S.R. | E, I, S-Tc */ | Jan. 19, 1981 | 1981-1990 |

### B. Agreements Concluded by: BELGIUM AND LUXEMBOURG

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | E, I, Tc ***/ | June 1, 1981 | 1981-1984 @ |
| 2. C.S.S.R. | E, I, Tc | Sept. 10, 1975 | Indefinite |
| 3. Hungary | E, I, Tc | Oct. 6, 1975 | 1975-1985 |
| 4. Poland | E, I, T ***/<br>E | Sept. 26, 1979<br>April 22, 1981 | Unknown<br>1981-1986 |
| 5. Romania | E, I, Tc | May 27, 1976 | 1976-1985 |
| 6. U.S.S.R | E, I, S-Tc */ | Feb. 11, 1977 | 1977-1984 @/ |

### C. Agreements Concluded by: CANADA

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. G.D.R. | T | Sept. 9, 1983 | 1983-1986 |
| 2. Romania | T, E, I, Tc | Oct. 24, 1982 | 1982-1992 |
| 3. U.S.S.R. | E, I, S-Tc | July 14, 1976 | 1976-1986 |
|  | E, I, S-Tc */ | Oct. 26, 1978 | Indefinite |

### D. Agreements Concluded by: CYPRUS

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | E, S, Tc | June 26, 1976 | 1976-1980**/ |
|  | T | April 12, 1978 | 1978-1981**/ |
|  | T, I, Tr | Oct. 1979 | Unknown |
| 2. C.S.S.R. | T | June 30, 1978 | 1978-1983**/ |
| 3. G.D.R. | T | Oct. 27, 1978 | 1978-1985 |
|  | E, I, S-Tc | Jan. 25, 1980 | 1980-1990 |
| 4. Hungary | T | Oct. 25, 1979 | 1979-1984**/ |
|  | E, I, Tc | May 13, 1980 | 1980-1990 |
| 5. Romania | E, I, Tc | Jan. 20, 1977 | 1977-.... |
|  | T | Dec. 15, 1978 | 1979-1984**/ |
| 6. U.S.S.R. | E, I, Tc | Oct. 1, 1975 | 1975-1985 |
|  | T | Nov. 24, 1976 | 1977-1986 |
|  | E,I | July 4, 1983 | 1983-1993 |

### E. Agreements Concluded by: DENMARK

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Hungary | E, I, S-Tc | Feb. 18, 1976 | 1976-1986 |
| 2. Poland | E, I, S-Tc | May 17, 1976 | 1976-1980**/ |
| 3. U.S.S.R. | E, I, S-Tc | Aug. 28, 1975 | 1975-1985 |
|  | E, I */ | June 16, 1978 | 1978-1985 |

F. Agreements Concluded by: FINLAND

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | E, I, S-Tc */ | Aug. 19, 1981 | 1981-1985 |
| 2. C.S.S.R. | E, I, S-Tc */ | Oct. 11, 1982 | 1982-1985 |
| 3. Poland | T #/ | Sept. 29, 1976 | Indefinite |
| 4. Romania | E, I, Tc | Sept. 3, 1976 | 1976-1986 |
|  | T | Oct. 30, 1981 | 1982-1991 |
| 5. U.S.S.R. | E, I, Tc */ | May 18, 1977 | 1977-1995 |
|  | T | Sept. 25, 1979 | 1981-1985 |
|  | E, I, Tc | Nov. 12, 1980 | 1980-1984 |
|  | E, I, Tc */ | Nov. 12, 1980 | 1980-1990 |
|  | T | Sept. 25, 1984 | 1986-1990 |

G. Agreements Concluded by: FRANCE

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | E, I, Tc | Dec. 22, 1981 | 1981-1990 |
|  | E | Dec. 22, 1981 | 1981-1985 |
| 2. C.S.S.R. | E | Nov. 14, 1975 | 1975-1985 |
| 3. G.D.R. | E, I, Tc */ | Feb. 1, 1980 | 1980-1985 |
|  | E, I, Tc | April 24, 1980 | 1980-1990 |
|  | E, I, Tc | Jan. 6, 1981 | 1981-1985 |
| 4. Poland | E, T ***/ | Sept. 14, 1977 | 1977-1982 @/ |
|  | E | May 23, 1980 | 1980-1985 |
|  | E, I, S-Tc */ | 1980 | 1981-1990 |
| 5. U.S.S.R. | E, I, Tc */ | April 28, 1979 | 1980-1990 |
|  | E | April 28, 1979 | 1980-1985 |

H. Agreements Concluded by: FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | E, I, Tc */ | Nov. 25, 1975 | 1975-1984 @/ |
| 2. Poland | E | June 11, 1976 | 1976-1981 @/ |
| 3. U.S.S.R. | E, I | May 6, 1978 | 1978-2003 |
|  | E, I */ | July 1, 1980 | 1980-2003 |

### I. Agreements Concluded by: GREECE

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | E, I | Feb. 7, 1979 | 1979-1985 |
| 2. C.S.S.R. | E, I, Tc | Oct. 22, 1980 | 1980-1985 |
| 3. G.D.R. | E, I, Tc | June 17, 1980 | 1980-1985 |
| 4. Hungary | E, I, Tc<br>E, I, Tc<br>E, S-Tc | Oct. 9, 1980<br>Sept. 24, 1980<br>May 25, 1983 | Unknown<br>1981-1986<br>1963-1993 |
| 5. Poland | T, E, I, Tc<br>E, Tc | Nov. 4, 1975<br>1980 | 1976-1980**/<br>Unknown |
| 6. Romania | E, I, Tc<br>E, I, S-Tc | March 29, 1976<br>May 5, 1982 | 1976-1981**/<br>1982-1987 |
| 7. U.S.S.R. | E, Tc<br>E, I<br>E, I, S-Tc */ | Feb. 10, 1979<br>Dec. 24, 1980<br>Feb. 22, 1983 | 1981-1983<br>1982-1990<br>1983-1993 |

### J. Agreements Concluded by: ICELAND

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. C.S.S.R. | T | Sept. 1, 1977 | 1978-1982 a/ |
| 2. U.S.S.R. | T<br>E | Sept. 11, 1980<br>July 2, 1982 | 1981-1985<br>Indefinite |

### K. Agreements Concluded by: IRELAND

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Poland | E, I, S-Tc | June 13, 1977 | 1977-1987 |
| 2. U.S.S.R. | E, I, S-Tc | Dec. 16, 1976 | 1976-1985 |

L. Agreements Concluded by: ITALY

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Poland | E, I, S-Tc */ | Oct. 28, 1975 | 1975-1984 @/ |
| | E, I, S-Tc | Oct. 28, 1975 | 1975-1979 @/ |
| | E, T ***/ | Nov. 29, 1977 | 1977-1984 @/ |
| 2. Romania | E, I, Tc | 1980 | Unknown |
| 3. U.S.S.R. | E, I */ | Oct. 29, 1975 | 1975-1985 |
| | E | Oct. 27, 1979 | 1980-1985 |
| | E, I, Tc */ | April 23, 1984 | 1984-1990 |

M. Agreements Concluded by: MALTA

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | T | March 1979 | 1979-1983 |
| | T, E, I | March 18, 1983 | Unknown |
| 2, C.S.S.R. | T | July 16, 1976 | Indefinite |
| | E, I, Tc | Aug. 29, 1980 | Indefinite |
| 3. Hungary | T | Jan. 19, 1977 | 1977-1981**/ |
| 4. Poland | E, T, Sh | Oct. 21, 1977 | 1978-1981**/ |
| 5. Romania | T, E, I, Tc | Oct. 19, 1983 | 1984-1989 |
| 6. U.S.S.R. | T | Oct. 8, 1981 | 1981-1985 |

N. Agreements Concluded by: NETHERLANDS

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. C.S.S.R. | E, I, Tc | Nov. 19, 1975 | Indefinite |
| 2. Poland | E | Nov. 26, 1976 | Indefinite |
| 3. Romania | E | May 5, 1980 | 1980-1982 |

## O. Agreements Concluded by: NORWAY

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. C.S.S.R. | E, I, Tc */ | March 24, 1980 | Indefinite |
| 2. Poland | T | March 29, 1976 | 1976-1980**/ |
| | T | June 16, 1981 | 1981-1985 |
| 3. Romania | E, I, Tc | Nov. 14, 1980 | 1981-1991 |
| | T | Nov. 14, 1980 | 1980-1985 |
| 4. U.S.S.R. | E | Oct. 15, 1975 | 1975-1980 |
| | E, I */ | Nov. 5, 1980 | 1980-1990 |

## P. Agreements Concluded by: PORTUGAL

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | E, I, S-Tc | Oct. 23, 1975 | 1976-1980**/ |
| | E, I, S-Tc */ | March 20, 1979 | Indefinite |
| 2. G.D.R. | E, S-Tc | June 29, 1976 | 1976-1981 @/ |
| 3. U.S.S.R. | E, S-Tc | Oct. 5, 1975 | 1975-1980**/ |

## Q. Agreements Concluded by: SPAIN

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | T | Jan. 24, 1979 | 1979-1983**/ |
| | E, I, Tc | Jan. 24, 1979 | 1979-1988 |
| 2. C.S.S.R. | T, E, I | Dec. 12, 1977 | 1978-1980**/ |
| 3. G.D.R. | T | Dec. 17, 1979 | 1979-1982 @/ |
| | E, I | Oct. 20, 1983 | 1983-1991 |
| 4. Hungary | T, Sh, Tr, E | April 8, 1976 | 1976-1986 |
| | I, Tc | Nov. 27, 1979 | Unknown |
| | E, I | Initialled 1981 | |
| | E, I | July 9, 1984 | 1984-1994 |
| 5. Romania | T, E, I, Tc | Jan. 19, 1977 | 1977-1986 |
| 6. U.S.S.R. | E, I | Feb. 24, 1984 | 1984-1994 |

## R. Agreements Concluded by: SWEDEN

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | T | Sept. 29, 1980 | 1981-1985 |
| 2. G.D.R. | E, I, Tc | Jan. 15, 1976 | 1976-1986 |
| 3. Hungary | T | Feb. 23, 1982 | 1982-1986 |
| 4. Poland | T | April 13, 1978 | 1978-1982**/ |
| 5. Romania | T | Nov. 8, 1980 | 1981-1985 |
|  | E, I, S-Tc */ | Nov. 8, 1980 | 1981-1990 |
| 6. U.S.S.R. | T | April 7, 1976 | 1977-1986 |
|  | E, I, S-Tc */ | Sept. 24, 1981 | 1981-1990 |

## S. Agreements Concluded by: SWITZERLAND

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. U.S.S.R. | E, I, S-Tc | Jan. 12, 1978 | 1978-1988 |
|  | E, I, S-Tc */ | July 9, 1979 | 1979-1988 |

## T. Agreements Concluded by: TURKEY

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bulgaria | E, I, S-Tc | Sept. 13, 1975 | 1975-1980**/ |
|  | T | April 24, 1980 | 1980-1982 @/ |
| 2. C.S.S.R. | T | Aug. 29, 1975 | 1975-1976**/ |
|  | E, I, Tc | Jan 6, 1976 | 1976-1980 @/ |
|  | T | Oct. 1979 | 1980-1982 |
| 3. G.D.R. | E, I, S-Tc | June 16, 1978 | 1978-1983**/ |
| 4. Hungary | E, I, S-Tc | Jan. 11, 1977 | 1977-1981**/ |
| 5. Poland | E, Tc | March 1980 | 1980- |
| 6. Romania | E, I, Tc | Aug. 29, 1975 | 1975-1980**/ |
|  | E */ | April 8, 1982 | 1982- |
| 7. U.S.S.R. | T | Nov. 30, 1978 | 1979-1981**/ |
|  | T | April 29, 1983 | 1983-1985 |

U. Agreements Concluded by: UNITED KINGDOM

| Country | Type | Date of Signature/ Entry into Force | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. G.D.R. | E, I, S-Tc */ | March 12, 1983 | 1983-1988 |
| 2. Poland | E, I, Tc */ | Sept. 4, 1975 | 1975-1982**/ |
| | E | Dec. 16, 1976 | 1977-1982**/ |
| 3. Romania | E, I, Tc | Sept. 18, 1975 | 1975-1985 |
| | E, I, Tc */ | Jan. 28, 1977 | 1977-1985 |

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*/ Comprehensive Programs for cooperation, which are not drawn up in treaty language and which do not necessarily constitute binding agreements under international law

**/ Agreements renewed annually or extended by automatic agreement

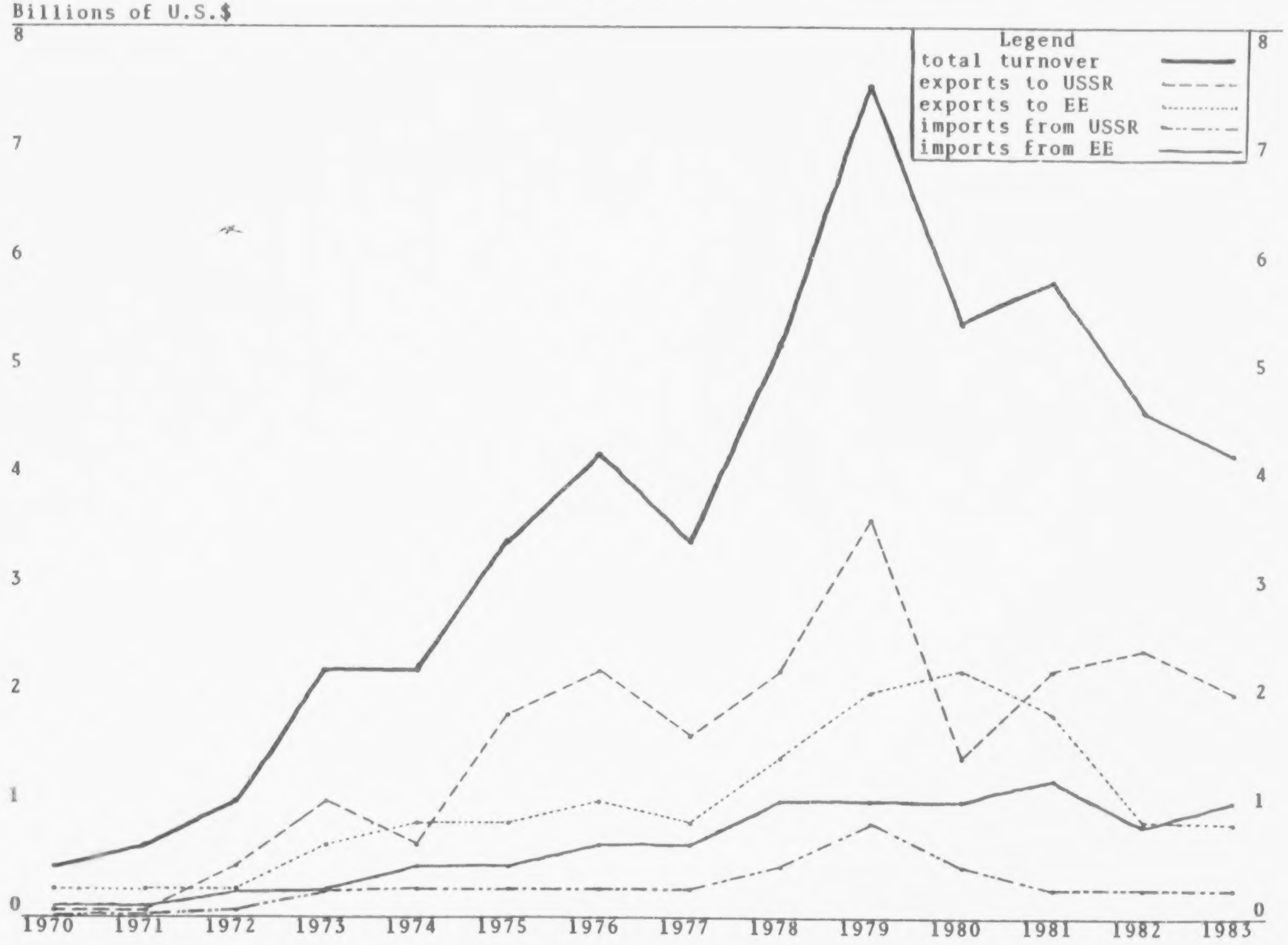
***/ Agreements or protocols on economic cooperation and trade between small and medium-sized enterprises

@/ Assumed to have been extended by tacit agreement, although official confirmation is not available.

#/ Agreement on reciprocal removal of trade barriers.

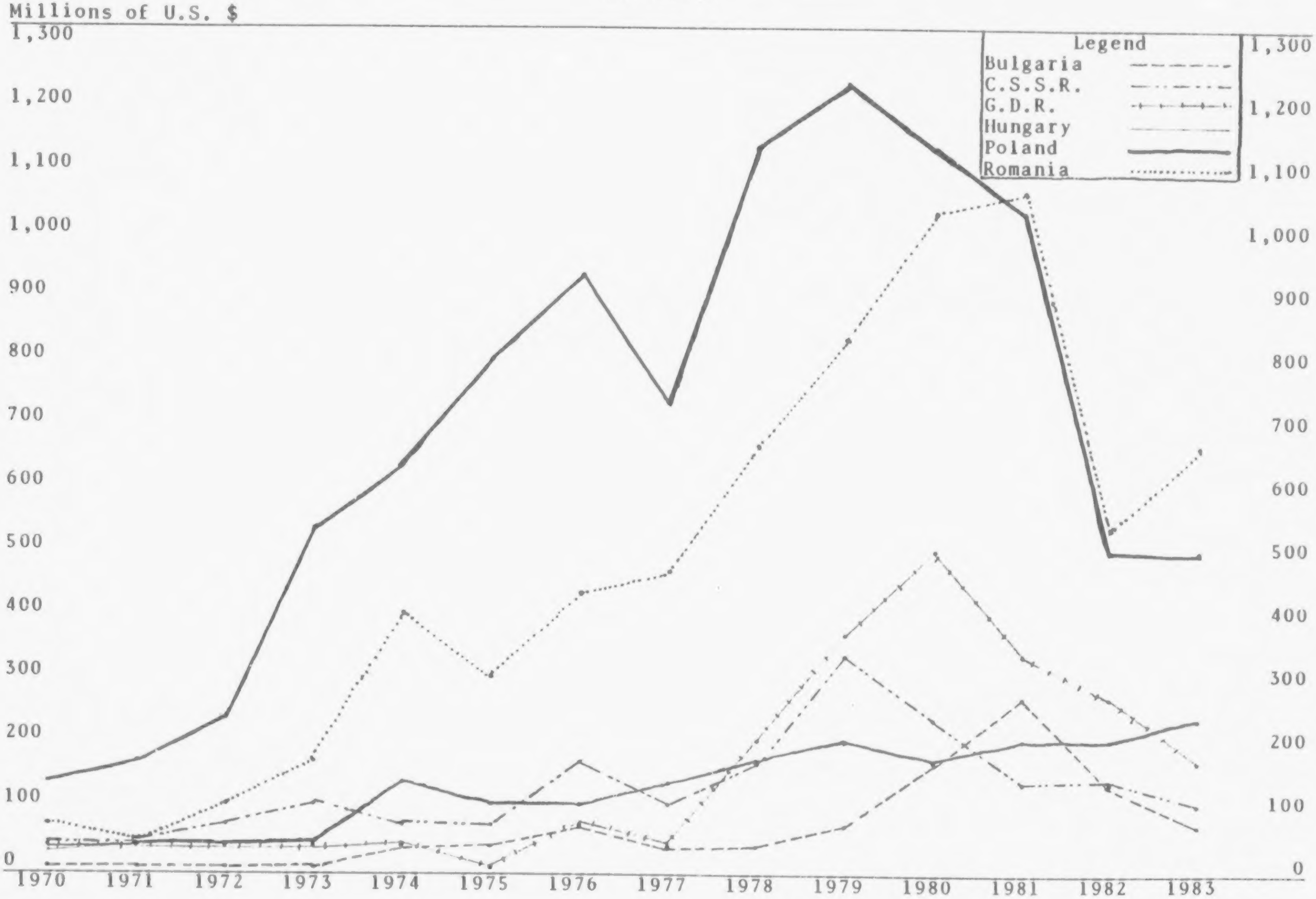
## Appendix 2

U.S.-EUROPEAN CMEA TRADE
1970-1983



Source: U.N. Economic Commission for Europe and U.S. International Trade Commission

U.S. -EAST EUROPEAN TRADE TURNOVER
1970-1983



Source: U.N. Economic Commission for Europe and U.S. International Trade Commission

# CHAPTER VI

## BASKET II: INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION

### Introduction

While the actions called for in the "Commercial Exchanges" section of Basket II are instrumental for increasing the level of East-West economic intercourse, the CSCE signatories recognized that particular forms of this cooperation were developing more rapidly than others and needed to be dealt with more specifically. In particular, industrial cooperation was recognized as a fast developing facet of the East-West economic relationship that should be both encouraged and facilitated by the participating states. East-West industrial cooperation began in the late 1960s, with the number of agreements between Western firms and Eastern foreign trade organizations (FTO) increasing rapidly during the early 1970s. As one British analyst, Malcolm Hill, noted in 1983, four times the number of inter-firm industrial cooperation agreements existed in the mid-1970s than had a decade ago. This activity, which took place between entirely different economic systems, necessitated a commitment by the governments involved to promote and facilitate its future development.

The term "industrial cooperation" itself connotes a form of economic interaction more involved than the notion of a simple, one-time sale or purchase of goods or services. While there is no standard internationally-accepted definition, it is commonly agreed that industrial cooperation denotes a long-term deal involving the transfer of technology, know-how, capital and/or marketing services from one partner to another, the payment for which may be realized in a finished, resultant product. Thus, licensing, the supply of complete plants and joint ventures of all types can be classified as forms of industrial cooperation. This is certainly a more complicated form of economic cooperation than the conventional trade transaction and requires lengthy contract negotiations. However, industrial cooperation became very popular for many reasons. For the Soviets and East Europeans, industrial cooperation promised the development of domestic industries through the introduction of Western technology. It also offered the possibility of overcoming hard currency difficulties in that countertrade, the payment for imports with a resultant product by contract, could be demanded by the Eastern partner. For the West, industrial cooperation promised sizable contracts for those firms large enough to handle long-term deals.

Paralleling the increase in industrial cooperation between the countries of East and West has been the increased use of countertrade. Many firms of the Western signatory states experienced harsher countertrade demands as the debt problems of the European CMEA countries became increasingly serious. Demands for countertrade are generally viewed as not promoting the most effective form of industrial cooperation between East and West. Thus, while many of the deals concluded can be seen as positive developments in keeping with the goals of the Helsinki Final Act, often the actual terms of the deal are not regarded by the West as productive. In some cases, however, efforts have been made to better address the many problems associated with countertrade. Further efforts to deal with the problems of countertrade in all its forms, both the long-term, buy-back arrangements common in industrial cooperation and the counterpurchase transactions which are common in general trade, have been given added impetus by the relevant provisions of the Madrid Concluding Document.

The CSCE participating states acknowledged that, while industrial cooperation must be motivated primarily by economic considerations, there was much that the signatory states could do to create an environment more conducive to the development of cooperative arrangements. The signatories pledged to "encourage all forms of exchange of information" on industrial cooperation by utilizing joint governmental commissions, joint chambers of commerce and other bilateral organizations. In addition, "with a view to expanding industrial cooperation," the participating states agreed to "facilitate and increase all forms of business contacts between competent organizations, enterprises, and firms and between their respective qualified personnel," and to "encourage the parties concerned to take measures to accelerate the conduct of negotiations for the conclusion of cooperation contracts." This last point represents an attempt, namely by the West, to positively effect the problems and costs of long negotiations between Western firms and Eastern enterprises. Another important provision in this section is the recommendation that international organizations, namely the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), continue to examine the "general conditions of industrial cooperation and (to provide) guidance in the preparation of contracts in this field." The complications and many unknown variables associated with industrial cooperation make efforts to study this form of economic cooperation of great importance to all participating states and their respective enterprises and firms.

Many of the provisions concerning industrial cooperation could only be realized by unilateral actions on the part of the East European governments. While the market-economy countries could take bilateral actions, such as the establishment and full utilization of the bilateral inter-governmental commissions and the conclusion of long-term agreements on economic and industrial cooperation, Western businesses act primarily on the perceived economic environment in making decisions involving industrial cooperation. Thus, while the actions called for in the Helsinki Final Act are meant to create a stable and potentially attractive area for Western firms to become involved, ultimately it is the forces of the market outside the realm of the Helsinki process which guide Western business decisions. Therefore, positive steps taken by the participating states do not necessarily lead to an actual increase in the level of economic interaction.

The signatory states also made explicit mention of certain fields of cooperation that are of particular importance and incorporated these fields into the Final Act's industrial cooperation section as "Projects of Common Interest." These fields are energy resource development, raw materials exploitation, and transportation and communication improvements. The efforts of the participating states to promote cooperation in these areas are identical to those to promote industrial cooperation. The primary intention of this section is to focus attention on the above-mentioned fields, which are particularly important to those countries in close geographical proximity with others.

In addition to the sections on the promotion of industrial cooperation and projects of common interest, there is another section in Basket II which takes note of a few related areas where the signatories can take further efforts and thus improve the conditions for economic cooperation. This section specifically calls for creating better conditions for the arbitration of commercial disputes which may arise from complex business deals, inter-governmental agreements to prevent the double taxation of joint ventures and similar activities, and the harmonization of standards.

## Industrial Cooperation

### U.S. Experience

In the years following the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, some progress has been made in complying with both the actual provisions and the spirit of the Act in regard to industrial cooperation. This progress has been unilateral, bilateral and multilateral in nature. Although political considerations and often ignored economic factors outside the scope of the Helsinki process have caused the forward movement in East-West industrial cooperation to lose steam, the positive developments that have taken place helped establish a more stable basis for East-West interaction. The Soviet Union and the rest of Eastern Europe made modest improvements during certain periods in both the quantity and quality of information related to industrial cooperation, such as lists of potential projects, through joint governmental commissions or joint councils of chambers of commerce, some of which came into being after August 1975. And, as stated earlier, the level of contacts between Western businessmen and their Eastern counterparts have increased at a larger rate than has the actual number of agreements signed.

Hungary, Poland and Romania have been the most active in the area of industrial cooperation with the West, both before and after 1975. The U.S.S.R., by contrast, proceeded very slowly and cautiously in this area during the early 1970s. It was only in the second half of the decade that the Soviets became more active in pursuing industrial cooperation agreements. Although the Helsinki process may have helped to draw Soviet attention to industrial cooperation, it was most likely the increased desire to utilize countertrade, which with the U.S.S.R. usually takes the form of long-term, buy-back deals, that led to greater Soviet participation. The Soviets view such arrangements as facilitating their access to Western markets.

At the time of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, Hungary was already involved in industrial cooperation with the West, more than any other East European state, and continues to be the most active in terms of the number of agreements signed. The ECE has estimated that more than one-third of all East-West industrial cooperation agreements involve a Hungarian partner. In addition, Hungary has taken specific, concrete measures to facilitate industrial cooperation. In May 1977, the Hungarian Ministry of Finance issued a decree permitting Western firms to create joint ventures with Hungarian enterprises. Changes in profit taxation, making joint ventures more attractive to Western companies, were implemented in 1979. And, in November 1982, decrees on customs-free-zones and on the extraterritorial status of employees of a joint venture project effectively eliminated major administrative problems for Western firms involved in joint ventures with Hungary. According to the 1982 decrees, any joint venture project set up in a customs-free-zone is considered legally a foreign entity and may, therefore, import without paying duty and export without Hungarian customs clearance. The Central European International Bank was established in January 1980 as the first enterprise in Hungary with majority Western ownership, with six West European banks holding 66 percent as compared to the National Bank of Hungary's 34 percent.

In regard to bilateral industrial cooperation between Hungary and the United States, the two governments have taken several steps since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act to promote such cooperation. The U.S.-Hungarian Trade Agreement of March 17, 1978, in addition to facilitating trade in general, contains provisions which have improved conditions for cooperation. The agreement established the U.S.-Hungarian Economic Committee, which first met in March 1979 and has met every year since. Industrial cooperation has often been discussed, with the Hungarian side providing lists of areas for future cooperation between U.S. firms and Hungarian enterprises.

On February 16, 1979, the United States and Hungary also concluded a double taxation treaty, preventing the problems associated with the taxation of cooperation arrangements between U.S. and Hungarian firms and thus improving the investment climate for U.S businesses in Hungary.

Industrial cooperation deals concluded between U.S. firms and Hungarian enterprises since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act include the joint venture established in 1975 for the manufacture of blood gas analyzers, between Corning International, the electro-chemical instrument manufacturer Radelkis and the Hungarian foreign trade organization Metrimpex. Corning supplied the know-how and blue-prints for the manufacturing of the analyzers and agreed to market 60 percent of the production. Another example of U.S.-Hungarian industrial cooperation involves the American company, Levi-Straus, which in 1977 supplied material and equipment for the making of jeans in Hungary in exchange for royalties on 40 percent of the output marketed in Hungary. Also in 1977, Universal Machinery Company reached agreement with a Hungarian enterprise for the coproduction of electrical furnaces to be marketed in the West, the U.S. company supplying the know-how and electrical equipment. While not nearly an exhaustive list of deals made between U.S. firms and Hungarian enterprises, the above-mentioned agreements are illustrations of the large-scale industrial cooperation deals made between the two countries in the post-Helsinki period.

Industrial cooperation agreements involving Hungary and Western firms are now so numerous -- well over 1,000, up from about 400 in 1977 -- that they are considered a common form of Hungarian-Western economic interaction. According to the ECE, trade turnover in the framework of industrial cooperation agreements rose from 555 million forints in 1976 to 7,409 million forints only two years later. The increased ease with which agreements are negotiated and put into effect has led to a large number of agreements being made by small and medium-sized Western firms. While some problems affecting industrial cooperation still exist, such as business facilities and, occasionally, access to end-users, in general, U.S., indeed Western, relations with Hungary in the field of industrial cooperation have improved significantly since the signing of the Final Act.

During the early 1970s, Poland began to initiate an economic strategy highly dependent on foreign trade with the West. In brief, this strategy was to import as much technology, plants and know-how as possible on the assumption that they would not only improve the domestic economic situation but also increase and diversify Polish foreign trade, thus paying for themselves in the long-run. Industrial cooperation figured highly in this strategy and, in the late 1970s, Poland ranked second to Hungary among the East European states in the number of inter-firm cooperation agreements signed. In fact, because many of the Hungarian deals are smaller forms of industrial cooperation while Poland has stressed larger cooperation deals, in terms of value, Poland was probably more involved in industrial cooperation in tha late 1970s than was Hungary.

As the Polish trade strategy bore no fruit and the debt to the West increased, Polish involvement in industrial cooperation declined. This problem was largely due to economic forces that were outside the realm of CSCE. Nevertheless, several positive developments have occurred in the post-Helsinki period. In May 1976, Poland issued long-awaited regulations permitting the establishment of joint ventures. The Council of Ministers decree of May 14 and the Finance Ministry decree of May 26 permitted not only joint ventures but companies fully owned by Western businesses to be set up in Poland. Such forms of cooperation were limited to small-scale industries, handicrafts and the services sector. A second Finance Ministry decree of the same date, May 26, 1976, spelled out some of the details of foreign investment. A 1978 decree expanded considerably the sectors for joint ventures to include the heavy-industrial and services sectors.

In 1979, the Polish Government took further measures in this area which clarified many of the questions raised by the 1976 decrees. The formal legal framework for the establishment of joint ventures between Western firms and Polish economic enterprises was enacted.

U.S.-Polish industrial cooperation has seen many positive developments since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, namely in regard to the American-Polish Trade Commission. In October 1975, the Polish delegation submitted a specific list of projects offering the best opportunities for cooperation with American firms. Another list of cooperation opportunities was submitted at the 1976 meeting, where the Polish delegation expressed a strong interest in long-term projects in machinery manufacturing and in chemicals production with American companies. The 1977 Joint Commission meeting focused discussion on third country projects with which Poland has had considerable experience.

On November 9, 1978, at the annual meeting of the Joint Commission, the United States and Poland signed an Agreement on the Participation of Small and Medium-Sized Firms and Economic Organizations in Trade and in Industrial Cooperation. Citing the principles and provisions of the Final Act, the two countries pledged their support for the development of industrial cooperation between small and medium-sized enterprises. The following year, a working group on industrial cooperation was set up and held its first meeting in Warsaw. In early December 1981, before the imposition of martial law in Poland, the Joint Commission met in Washington, D.C. and devoted one full day of discussion to the problems of joint ventures in Poland. It was hoped that this discussion would increase the interest of the U.S. business community in joint venture possibilities in Poland.

In addition, the Polish-U.S. Economic Council has also increased its focus on industrial cooperation since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. In April 1979, the Council sponsored a seminar in Chicago on industrial cooperation.

There have been numerous cooperation deals between American companies and Polish enterprises. In 1976, for example, General Electric and Katy Industries, both American firms, signed countertrade deals with Polish enterprises, whereby, in exchange for machinery and, in the case of General Electric, a license, the two U.S. firms received resulting products.

There are no joint ventures in Poland involving American firms. However, there is a joint venture between the two countries located in the United States. Polamco, a joint venture between U.S. tool dealers and the Polish FTO Metalexport, was founded in 1976 for the import of machine tools to the United States. Polamco later went into partnership with a machine tool manufacturer and set up a new joint venture, Magatool, in Pennsylvania, to improve the precision of the Polish machine tools imported into the United States.

Romania has not been as active in industrial cooperation with the West as Hungary and Poland. Nevertheless, it has increased its interest in industrial cooperation since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Implementation of the industrial cooperation provisions, however, is largely the result of Romanian policies predating Helsinki. For example, in March 1971, Romania passed a law which allowed direct foreign investment in Romania up to 49 percent ownership. Further decrees, implemented in November 1972, detailed the organizational and operational aspects of joint ventures and their taxation. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Trade was reorganized so that it would better be able to deal with industrial cooperation.

In the post-Helsinki period, Romania has taken measures to improve further its record in regard to industrial cooperation with the United States and other Western nations. The U.S.-Romanian Economic Commission, established in 1973, has been the primary forum for positive developments in this area. In September 1975, a little more than one month after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act and the bringing into force of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement, a joint Commission meeting began to examine in great detail joint ventures in Romania, resulting in the U.S. Department of Commerce's 1977 publication, Joint Venture Agreements in Romania: Background for Implementation.

By far the most important development between the United States and Romania regarding industrial cooperation has been the Long-Term Agreement on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation, signed in Bucharest on November 21, 1976. This Agreement is a very good example of cooperation between two participating states in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. When President Ford visited Romania to sign the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement in August 1975, immediately following the Helsinki summit, he and President Ceausescu issued a joint communique announcing that negotiations for a long-term agreement would soon begin. The second session of the joint Commission later that year agreed that the negotiations would begin in 1976. That November, the two governments, noting their determination "to promote in their relations the objectives of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," concluded a ten-year agreement which follows much of the Final Act language on industrial cooperation. The agreement includes general guidelines for inter-firm arrangements, for protecting investors from expropriation and for improving business facilities and the availability of commercial information. There are two annexes to the Long-Term Agreement, the first of which states detailed principles for the organization and operation of U.S.-Romanian cooperation arrangements, including equity joint ventures. Annex II identifies 13 sectors of particular interest for the development of cooperation between the two countries. The Joint Commission is mandated to monitor the implementation of this agreement.

U.S.-Romanian industrial cooperation has continued to be promoted since the signing of the 1976 Agreement. The joint Commission met to discuss commercial relations and has focused greater attention on industrial cooperation. The Department of Commerce sponsored an exhibition on "Electronics and Industrial Production" at the October 1980 Bucharest International Fair. In 1978, Romania made available new information on industrial centers and research and design institutes. The private U.S.-Romanian Economic Council also has been active in the discussion of industrial cooperation and in making American businesses more aware of cooperation opportunities. In September 1980, for example, a list of Romanian priorities for cooperation projects was presented to the Council.

There have been a few new cooperation agreements with American firms, some of which are in the marketing field. The only joint venture between the two countries is the deal between Control Data and a Romanian partner for the manufacture of computer-related equipment. While this cooperation arrangement was initiated in 1973, in May 1980, the American company signed a protocol with the Romanian Foreign Trade Ministry for discussion of another joint venture deal. However, at the same time that the two sides have taken concrete steps to incorporate the Basket II provisions on industrial cooperation into their bilateral economic relationship, economic forces, outside the sphere of the Helsinki process, increasingly constrained cooperation possibilities. The rising Romanian debt led to increased countertrade demands; often over 100 percent compensation has been demanded by the Romanians. This has made further cooperation deals less attractive to Western firms.

An example of a project of common interest between the United States and Romania is the agreement between the Island Creek Coal Company, a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, and the Romanian foreign trade organization Mineralimportexport, signed in June 1977. The Romanian side aquired an equity share in a Virginia coal mine and supplied capital for the mine's development. In return, the Romanians have the right to buy 14 million metric tons of the anthracite coal at cost for use in Romanian steel mills, and the opportunity to purchase additional amounts of the coal over the next 30 to 40 years. Deliveries of the coal began in 1980.

Three other East European countries -- Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic -- have been much less involved in industrial cooperation with the West. However, these countries have also made some efforts to better facilitate industrial cooperation. In the case of Czechoslovakia, modest efforts were taken soon after Helsinki. In early 1976, the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Trade called for Czechoslovak enterprises to enter into industrial cooperation agreements with Western firms. Later that year, internal regulations governing cooperation arrangements were decentralized to encourage industrial cooperation. A transaction of below $500 thousand between a Czechoslovak enterprise and a Western company can be concluded by the general manager of that enterprise, and only the approval of the relevant industrial ministry is needed for any transaction below $1.7 million. Enterprises also were able to receive a tax discount of up to 30 percent and an import subsidy of up to 50 percent.

In August 1980, the Czechoslovak Government announced the passage of new laws designed to improve the effectiveness of production cooperation with the West. These laws and regulations stressed the need to develop a long-term basis for the improvement of production efficiency and the technical quality of the goods produced.

The United States and Czechoslovakia have not signed a trade agreement nor a long-term economic and industrial cooperation agreement, and there is no inter-governmental joint commission. As previously mentioned, however, there is the private Czechoslovak-U.S. Economic Council, established only months after the signing of the Final Act. The Council has formed a working group on industrial cooperation and has sponsored seminars on the subject, such as one seminar in Boston in April 1979. This meeting, attended by Czechoslovak bankers and foreign trade officials as well as U.S. businessmen, was followed by a meeting of the working group on industrial cooperation.

Despite the limited nature of the developments in Czechoslovakia since 1975, whether unilateral or bilateral, the number of contracts between Czechoslovak enterprises and Western firms has nevertheless increased. According to a 1980 Czechoslovak source, the number of contracts in force remained between 21 and 23 during the years 1971-1976. In 1977, however, 30 contracts were reported, with 35 and 42 contracts for 1978 and 1979, respectively. In early 1982, according to another source, there were approximately 65 cooperation agreements in effect. The ECE has reported that Czechoslovakia increased its share of total industrial cooperation contracts relative to the other European CMEA states between 1976 and 1983 from 4.7 percent to 9.2 percent.

In the late 1970s, Bulgaria became increasingly interested in industrial cooperation with the West, recognizing the importance of Western technology for stimulating economic growth.

In regard to positive unilateral developments, the Bulgarian authorities only recently have permitted the establishment of joint ventures on Bulgarian territory. On March 28, 1980, the State Council of Bulgaria issued a decree allowing Western businesses to set up joint ventures with Bulgarian enterprises in all sectors of the economy. This decree is regarded as one of the more liberal joint venture decrees in Eastern Europe. In contrast to most of the East European countries' rules or practices in this area, Bulgaria permits the Western firm to have majority interest in the joint project. Within about a year from the issuance of this decree, four Western firms, none American, signed agreements with the Bulgarian Government. As a further incentive to Western firms interested in cooperation arrangements in Bulgaria, in mid-1981, the Bulgarian Government stated that hard-currency credits would be made available to those firms.

Because of this legislation and Bulgarian pronouncements of interest in industrial cooperation with the West, it is estimated that the number of cooperation agreements with Western firms increased from under 50 at the time of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act to over 165 today. While the United States and Bulgaria have no trade agreement, long-term economic and industrial cooperation agreement or inter-governmental commercial commission, U.S. firms have nevertheless participated in cooperation arrangements with Bulgarian foreign trade organizations. General Motors Overseas signed a countertrade deal in 1976 with the Bulgarian FTO Balkancarimpex. In exchange for heavy-duty trucks, G.M. receives Bulgarian fork lift carts and trucks for use in its plants. Pepsico International and Continental Can also have signed agreements with Bulgarian organizations. There have been two joint venture agreements involving U.S. firms since the March 1980 law, both in the chemical field. In regard to projects of common interest in the field of transportation, in 1977, A.I.L., a subsidiary of Cutler-Hammer, began the installation of a complete air traffic control system in Bulgaria.

Of all the countries of Eastern Europe, the German Democratic Republic has been the least active in industrial cooperation. This can be attributed primarily to the fact that the G.D.R. is a smaller country than the Soviet Union and some other East European countries, already has a higher technological level for economic development and is thus not so vitally dependent on Western technology for economic well-being, and has been politically much less open to the West. Nevertheless, since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the G.D.R. has taken some unilateral actions which can be considered positive, in intent if not in practice. In regard to information relevant to industrial cooperation, the G.D.R. made available guides to manufacturers and foreign trade organizations. In 1980, the foreign trade bureaucracy was reorganized to bring foreign trade organizations into closer contact with their respective industrial enterprises. This move has been described by East German officials as an attempt to supply practical information on appropriate contacts for foreign businesses, although the results of this attempt have been negligible.

Joint ventures are still not allowed in the German Democratic Republic. However, since 1978, the G.D.R. has participated in joint ventures in the West or in a third country. VEB Polygraph Leipzig concluded a joint venture with Beck and Pollitzer Engineering of Britian for sales of printing machines to third countries, the G.D.R.'s first joint venture agreement.

While there has been no trade or economic cooperation agreements between the United States and the German Democratic Republic since 1975, several U.S. firms have become involved in industrial cooperation arrangements with the G.D.R. Rockwell International was the first, signing an agreement in 1976 for the exchange of information and technology and third market cooperation in electronics, machinery and oil pipeline valves. Dow Chemical, Standard Oil and Pepsico International have also signed agreements. There is no inter-governmental commission between the two countries, but the privately sponsored U.S.-G.D.R. Trade and Economic Council, created in early 1977, held its first meeting with its East German counterpart from June 15 to 16 of that year during which industrial cooperation was discussed.

As previously mentioned, the Soviet Union, while involved in industrial cooperation agreements since the mid-1960s, was more cautious than many of the other East European states in the promotion of such agreements until the mid-1970s. This is most likely attributable to Soviet ideological conservatism, a low dependence on foreign trade for economic development and less difficulties with hard currency reserves. By the mid-1970s, however, the Soviets became aware of the need to develop Siberian resources as well as certain restraints on its hard currency capabilities. In addition, the replacement of tension by cooperation, as recognized and promoted by the Helsinki Final Act, increased, albeit modestly, Soviet willingness to open its economy to cooperation with Western firms. Premier Alexei Kosygin took note of this fact at the 25th Communist Party Congress in 1976, saying: "In the context of detente, new qualitative aspects are being acquired by our economic relations with the industrialized capitalist countries, relations that can develop successfully on the basis of the principles set forth in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe ... Various forms of industrial cooperation and joint research and development are promising forms."

At the same time that the Soviets became more conscious of industrial cooperation possibilities, coinciding with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the characteristics of the cooperation deals also changed. Up until the mid-1970s, the Soviet concentrated overwhelmingly on science and technology agreements between Western firms and the State Committee on Science and Technology. During the mid-1970s, however, other types of cooperation became increasingly prevalent, namely turnkey projects involving the processing of raw materials and industrial supplies. These projects can take the form, and often do, of long-term buy-back countertrade agreements, where the payment made to the Western supplier is the resultant product of the plant, equipment or machines supplied. One ECE document estimates that the actual value of exchanges under these agreements increased from around 800 million rubles in 1975 to 3 billion rubles in 1980. Soviet industrial cooperation with the West is therefore unique in comparison to other East European cooperation, which stresses licensing and joint ventures involving finished products.

The Soviet Union has not permitted the establishment of joint ventures on its own territory, but they have become increasingly involved in joint ventures in the West. The number of Soviet companies, most of them joint ventures between a Soviet FTO with majority holding and a Western partner, increased from 28 in 1970 to over 120 by 1980.

In regard to U.S.-Soviet industrial cooperation, the primary governmental initiatives taken by the two sides predated Helsinki but were carried on in the post-Helsinki period. For example, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Long-Term Agreement for Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation was signed in June 1974. Under this Agreement, specialized seminars have taken place such as the December 1975 "Joint Seminar on the Organizational and Legal Aspects of U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade," where both delegations presented and analyzed industrial cooperation and common ventures. In 1977 and 1978, there were two seminars on marketing under the aegis of the Long-Term Agreement. These seminars were held in conjunction with the Joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commercial Commission, established in May 1972.

In addition to the developments mentioned above, there has been an important positive development in the field of arbitration between the two countries. On January 12, 1977, an agreement was signed between the American Arbitration Association, the U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce. The agreement has an "optional clause" which can be incorporated into contracts between U.S. firms and Soviet FTOs. It calls for arbitration of a commercial dispute between the two partners to take place in Sweden, where the three signers of the agreement will assist in the arbitration process.

There have been several major industrial cooperation deals between American companies and Soviet FTOs, but most took place before 1975, such as the large and well-known 1974 Occidental Petroleum and the Pepsico International buy-back deals. Deals concluded after the signing of the Final Act include the 1977 deal between Phillip-Morris, via European subsidiaries, with three Soviet all-Union associations for the exchange of agricultural machinery, production equipment and chemicals necessary for the cultivation of Virginia and Berly tobacco in Moldavia in exchange for shipments of Soviet Turkish tobacco. Union Carbide, National Cash Register, Abbott Laboratories and Armco Steel have also signed deals with Soviet partners since 1975.

In 1976, the Soviet Union established a joint venture in the United States, U.S.-U.S.S.R. Marine Resources, Inc. Under the agreement, fish caught by U.S. fishermen are processed on Soviet factory ships and sold to Soviet purchasers or to third countries. A Soviet citizen was given permission to work in Bellingham, Washington, and an American citizen was permitted to work in Nakhodka, a Soviet city located on the Sea of Japan, in connection with this joint venture.

## European Experience

Industrial cooperation and projects of common interest have played an important role in economic relations between Western and Eastern Europe. While the actual monetary value of such cooperative ventures may have declined in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the number of cooperative agreements increased. The numerous inter-governmental agreements on economic and industrial cooperation concluded between CSCE signatories of Western and Eastern Europe listed in the appendix to Chapter V were significant in promoting this type of East-West economic relationship.

As with East-West trade in general, the Federal Republic of Germany is the most active West European country in industrial cooperation. This is attributable to the large capacity of the F.R.G. to supply industrial products and technology and to a need for energy supplies from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, much of which is secured through industrial cooperation agreements. In addition, according to the ECE, the Federal Republic of Germany has a large domestic market which can absorb greater imports of Eastern manufactured goods.

Much of the cooperation has involved energy and natural resources. The F.R.G., along with other countries, supplied large-diameter steel pipe and equipment for the extraction and long-range transmission of natural gas to the Soviet Union in exchange for gas deliveries which began in 1976. Also in 1976, an agreement for cooperation between a Krupp-led consortium and Poland for the construction of a coal gasification complex was reached. Other examples of industrial cooperation with Eastern Europe includes the furnishing of a polypropylene plant by the West German company Lurgi to Bulgaria in 1976; the installation of high-speed texturizing machinery by the F.R.G. firm Neumag-Neumunstersche Maschinen-Apparatebau GmbH to Czechoslovakia in 1978; the sale to Hungary of machinery and know-how for automatic production of twist drills in exchange for twist drills by Gottlieb Guhring KG in 1978; the 1977 joint venture between Romania and the German company VFW-Fokker for short haul jetliners and components with an estimated value of $427-$855 million; and numerous chemical deals with the Soviet Union in 1976 and 1977.

F.R.G. officials believe that industrial cooperation with the German Democratic Republic has increased in the post-Helsinki period. West German companies such as Hoechst, Friedrich Uhde, Kloeckner Industrie-Anlagen and Berlin Consult GmbH have participated in cooperative deals with the G.D.R. for the construction of plants and complexes since 1975.

Italy also had a major share in East-West industrial cooperation in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. According to the ECE, Italy's industrial cooperation is handled by a few major Italian companies such as ENI, Fiat, Finsider and Montedison. Main contacts signed with European CMEA countries after 1975 by firms in the ENI group, for example, reached a value of $800 million. Products supplied included chemical and petrochemical plants and various types of machinery. Products of Finsider, whose industrial cooperation with the Soviet Union predates the Helsinki Final Act, represented over 30 percent of Italy's exports to the U.S.S.R. in 1982. Other important industrial cooperation contracts between Italian companies and European CMEA foreign trade organizations include the 1979 ten-year industrial cooperation agreement between Fiat and Polmot of Poland for the sale of Fiat products to the Polish auto industry. This is a an example of a unique countertrade deal in that Fiat is required, through the terms of the agreement, to match the value of its sales to Poland with purchases. Another agreement, considered quite significant in that it involves a medium-sized Italian enterprise, was the construction of a turnkey steelworks in the German Democratic Republic by Officine Meccaniche Danieli of Butrio, the contract for which was signed on March 13, 1977.

France also has played a major role in East-West industrial cooperation. There are over 20 agreements in effect on economic and industrial cooperation between France and the countries of the European CMEA. Nearly half of these agreements were signed after the Helsinki Final Act. Much of the French participation in East-West industrial cooperation has centered around the field of energy, primarily in the extraction and transportation of natural gas from the U.S.S.R. An example of a non-energy contract between France and the Soviet Union was the 1976 deal between the French firm Rhone-Poulenc and the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade for the construction of chemical plants to produce fertilizers and insecticides. The duration of the deal, which is valued at six billion French francs, is ten years. Hungarian trade authorities concluded a similar contract with Rhone-Poulenc in the chemical sector.

According to the ECE, the telecommunications sector has also played a large role in French-European CMEA industrial cooperation. In the late 1970s, for example, half of the French exports of telecommunications equipment to Europe went to the European CMEA countries, primarily the U.S.S.R. and Poland.

Joint-marketing corporations also came into existence after 1975, such as the Corporation for Franco-Romanian Cooperation, established in 1978 by Romania and the Banque Paris-Bas. This corporation serves as a liaison between Romanian trade officials and French businesses in order to further develop ties. Other joint corporations exist between the two countries in specific sectors. Joint corporations have also been set up between Bulgaria and the Banque Paris-Bas for the marketing of plant and machinery in the engineering industry, and with Hungary for the marketing of machine tools. The ECE believes that these organizations should facilitate French industries' ability to handle countertrade transactions and will thus promote French cooperation with Eastern Europe.

Finnish industrial cooperation with the European CMEA countries differs with that of other Western countries, especially with the more significantly industrialized ones. Finland has not participated greatly in the most common form of industrial cooperation -- the supplying of industrial equipment and plants in exchange for resultant products. Rather, Finland has engaged in many third-country projects and in construction projects in Finland and the cooperating European CMEA country, primarily the Soviet Union.

According to the ECE, the Long-Term Program for the Development and Intensification of Economic, Commercial, Industrial, Scientific and Technical Cooperation until 1990, signed by Finland and the Soviet Union on May 18, 1977, contains a section on construction project cooperation, listing areas of greatest potential for this kind of cooperation. The Protocol on the Extension and Revision of the Long-Term Program, signed in 1980, mentions additional prospective areas for Soviet-Finnish industrial cooperation such as the manufacturing of equipment for the exploration and utilization of the continental shelf and energy conservation.

Finland has also cooperated with other countries of Eastern Europe, mainly in the supply of forest industry plants. Finland supplied a copper smelting plant to Bulgaria and hotels to Poland. The ECE points out, however, that the number of completed projects is relatively small.

A 1981 Swedish study on industrial cooperation with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe stated that there were approximately 70 industrial cooperation agreements between Swedish firms and East European enterprises. In general, the study states that most of Sweden's industrial cooperation with these countries occurred in the early 1970s and, in fact, stagnated in later years. Swedish authorities have said, however, that if barter trade is included, there was an increase after 1975 in the number of agreements and that a new upswing in industrial cooperation may be underway. Norwegian industrial cooperation also has been minimal, although the ECE stated that industrial cooperation between Norway and Eastern Europe is thought to have influenced certain bilateral trade flows noticeably. Belgium has seen some limited improvements in joint enterprises, particularly with Hungary and the German Democratic Republic.

Austrian officials believe that the Helsinki Final Act was a stimulus to East-West industrial cooperation in a legal sense. According to them, some of the new regulations issued by the East European CSCE signatories legally facilitated cooperation. The Austrians pointed out that, with the possible exception of Hungary, these legal improvements were not fully utilized due to economic conditions in Western Europe and bureaucratic problems in Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, there have been some positive developments. For example, in the field of energy, there has been considerable cooperation in the construction of a pipeline system for the supplying of natural gas to Austria and other West European countries. This is especially the case in Austro-Soviet economic relations in that one-third of all Austrian energy imports are from the Soviet Union. There have been four contracts for the purchase of natural gas -- in 1968, 1978, 1979 and 1984 -- and the Soviet Union now provides 70 percent of Austrian natural gas needs.

In regard to energy cooperation with other East European countries, Austria is currently engaged in talks with the Hungarian Electrical Company on cooperation in expanding facilities on the Danube River in Hungary. In connection with these talks, plans are currently being made for an increase in energy imports from Hungary.

Much of Spain's industrial cooperation with the East European CSCE signatories occurred in the late 1970s. For example, a ten-year inter-governmental cooperation agreement was signed between Spain and the Soviet Union in February 1984. According to the ECE, the agreement provides for cooperation in the construction and modernization of industrial projects, the co-production of capital goods and finished products, and exchanges of experience and technical information, specifically in regard to patents and new technological processes. The agreement also created a joint commission to monitor industrial cooperation. There also has been a shipping agreement since May 1983 between the two countries. Examples of cooperation between Spain and Eastern Europe include recent agreements concluded with the Hungarian organization Komplex for the building of turnkey factories, a third-country project with the U.S.S.R. in 1980 for the building of a refrigeration complex to store 2,000 tons of fish, and the construction by Spain of turnkey factories in Poland in 1977 in the knitted goods sector.

# CHAPTER VII

# BASKET II: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

## Introduction

The signatories to the Helsinki Final Act saw it useful to draw attention to the importance of scientific and technological cooperation in "the strengthening of security and cooperation among them." In the section on scientific and technical cooperation contained in Basket II, the CSCE states noted possibilities for improving cooperation, such as expediting and improving visits of scientists and specialists and improving the exchange of scientific and technological information. Particular reference to 14 areas -- agriculture; energy; new technologies and rational use of resources; transport technology; physics; chemistry; meteorology and hydrology; oceanography; seismological research; research on glaciology; permafrost and problems of life under conditions of cold; computer, communication and information technologies; space research; medicine and public health; and environmental research -- was made, noting that it is "for potential partners in the participating countries to identify and develop projects and arrangements of mutual interest and benefit. Finally, the signatories cited various forms of cooperation to be utilized, such as exchanges and visits, international and national conferences, the joint preparation and implementation of projects of mutual interest and, on a multilateral level, the full utilization of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) and its work in the field of science and technology.

Since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, East-West cooperation in the field of science and technology has grown, particularly prior to 1980. As James Goodby, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, stated to the Congress in 1980, "since 1975, when the Final Act was signed, we have experienced considerable growth in scientific cooperation among the CSCE participants, but also persistent problems. Many of the more than 60 scientific and technical agreements in effect with the Soviet Union and the states of Eastern Europe were negotiated after the Final Act. Activities under many of the older agreements increased in frequency, quality, and scope in recent years."

This assessment was reiterated by the participants in the Scientific Forum, which took place in February 1980. In the report of this CSCE experts meeting, held in Hamburg, the participating states concluded that "since the signing of the Final Act of the CSCE, there has been a significant expansion of international cooperation in research and training and in the exchange of information." An example of this increased cooperation is that over twice as many Soviet and American scientists participated in exchange programs under the auspices of the 11 bilateral scientific and technical agreements from 1975 through

1978 as participated from 1972 through 1974. While the Helsinki Final Act alone cannot be credited for this increase, it certainly provided a detailed framework and added impetus for increasing scientific and technical cooperation.

## Overview of U.S. Cooperation

While the Final Act cites the above-mentioned 14 areas for cooperation, and there have been efforts specifically aimed at specific fields, much of the impetus for cooperation has come from general or umbrella science and technology agreements and programs between the United States and East European countries. In addition, scientific and technological cooperation also is sometimes mentioned in educational exchange agreements.

Most of the science and technology umbrella agreements between the U.S. and East European nations were first reached in the years before the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Nevertheless, in the post-Helsinki period, especially prior to 1980, scientific and technical cooperation became an integral part of U.S. relations with the Soviet Union and the other East European countries. The Helsinki process clearly assisted the growth of cooperation in this field.

The inter-governmental umbrella science and technology agreements signed by the United States and the countries of Eastern Europe include the following pre-Helsinki agreements: the U.S.-Romanian Agreement on Exchanges and Cooperation in Educational, Cultural, Scientific, Technical and Other Fields, signed in December 1972; the U.S.-Polish Agreement on Cooperation in Science and Technology, signed in October 1972, the U.S.-Polish Agreement on Funding of Cooperation in Science and Technology, signed in October 1974; and the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Agreement on Cooperation in the Fields of Science and Technology, signed in May 1972. The latter three agreements expired in the early 1980s.

In the post-Helsinki period, two additional agreements were signed: the U.S.-Hungarian Agreement on Cultural and Scientific Exchanges, signed in April 1977; and the U.S.-Bulgarian Agreement on Exchanges and Cooperation in Cultural, Educational, Technological and Other Fields, signed in June 1977. There are no inter-governmental agreements between the United States and Czechoslovakia or the German Democratic Republic, although discussions on an umbrella agreement took place with both countries in the late 1970s.

The U.S. Government agency which promotes and funds many of the science programs is the National Science Foundation (NSF). The NSF provided financial and administrative support for 11 of the 14 joint working groups created under the auspices of the 1972 U.S.-U.S.S.R. Science and Technology Agreement.

The NSF has agreements or memoranda of understanding (MOU) with all the other East European countries, except for the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. A new MOU was reached with the Romanian National Council for Science and Technology in February 1979, replacing the original MOU of 1973. The agreement between the NSF and the Hungarian Institute for Cultural Relations dates back to 1972 but was amended in 1979 to revise subsistence allowances and add long-term study visits. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences replaced the Institute for Cultural Relations as the Hungarian partner in 1980. Cooperation with Poland dates back to a 1973 MOU with the Polish Academy of Sciences, which was replaced by a new MOU signed on December 11, 1981, but has never been implemented. Cooperation with the Bulgarian State Committee for Science and Technical Progress began in the post-Helsinki period, with an agreement signed on February 9, 1978.

In addition to funding the implementation of the official agreements, the NSF also funds many of the exchange activities of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS). The NAS has exchange agreements with the science academies of every East European country. These inter-academy exchanges have made it possible for scientists from the United States and from Eastern Europe to work on joint projects in fields such as mathematics, chemistry, physics and biology. The level of activity has varied from country to country and from one year to the next. As with other areas of science and technology, for example, inter-academy exchanges with the Soviet Union were dropped after the invasion of Afghanistan. Nevertheless, in the post-Helsinki period these exchanges were important elements of U.S.-East European scientific and technological cooperation.

## Agriculture

On the inter-governmental level, much of the scientific and technical cooperation between the United States and the countries of Eastern Europe has taken place in the field of agriculture. This fact is largely a reflection of the leading role agriculture plays in East-West economic relations. The United States currently has agricultural cooperation agreements with the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary.

Shortly after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the United States and Romania concluded a Protocol on Cooperation in Agriculture, signed on September 11, 1975, along with the previously-mentioned Protocol on Development of Agricultural Trade. The Protocol provides for the regular exchange of information concerning the agricultural situation and outlook in the two countries. It also provides for cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage in the fields of plant, animal and soil sciences and mechanization and in methods for the application of agricultural chemicals and use of mathematical models in agriculture. Finally, the Protocol calls for facilitating direct contacts between government organizations, research institutes, universities, firms, enterprises and individuals, as well as the exchange of material and information and the organization of symposia and conferences.

From the time the Protocol was brought into force, the U.S.-Romanian working group on agricultural cooperation and trade has met on six occasions and is coordinated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Romanian Ministry of Agriculture and Food. While there has been some problems with Romania in regard to information exchange, the meetings have been considered successful.

University exchange programs in agriculture between the United States and Romania began in 1976 with the Romanian Academy of Agriculture and Forestry Sciences, Iowa State University and the University of Nebraska participating. Exchanges have taken place in the fields of plant breeding, animal science and swine research. A farm training program with the International Farmer Association for Education began in 1972 and continued to be successful in the post-Helsinki period. The Future Farmers of America also engaged in exchanges with the Romanian Ministry of Agriculture.

Hungary and the United States initiated cooperation in the field of agriculture in 1976, when letters were exchanged on the subject. The Agreement on Cooperation in Culture, Education, Science and Technology, signed on April 6, 1977 and entered into force on May 21, 1979, further stimulated efforts in this area by encouraging the relevant agencies and institutions to establish contacts with each other. In May 1979, the two countries signed the Joint Statement on the Development of Agricultural Trade and Cooperation, which was later replaced by a new statement on May 13, 1981. Since the signing of the most recent joint statement, there have been three sessions of the working group on agriculture. In addition to the exchange of agroeconomic information, both sides have sought to encourage scientific cooperation between their respective institutions, such as between the Hungarian National Inspectorate for Animal Breeding and Feeding and American producer associations. Cooperation activities have taken place between the National Inspectorate and the Holstein-Friz and the Hereford Associations. Suggested topics for scientific and technical exchange include plant breeding and soil conservation. Additionally, there are continuing seminars and exchanges between the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture.

A Joint Statement on Development of Cooperation in Agriculture was concluded between the Department of Agriculture and the Bulgarian Agro-Industrial Union in November 1979. At the first session of the working group under the auspices of the joint statement, held in Sofia from October 2 to 8, 1980, the U.S. delegation visited the Tobacco Research Institute in Plovdiv, the Corn Institute in Knezha, the research and production complex for grapes in Varna and two agro-industrial complexes, Slivo Pole and Ivanovo. Areas for cooperation between the two governmental organizations include plant breeding for tobacco, sunflowers and tomatoes; swine and cattle production; and the storage and processing of tomatoes. The following year, cooperation was expanded to include cotton and sour cherry selection and breeding; sheep, dairy and poultry production; and soil conservation. Projects concerning grain and canning were added at the third session in early October 1983. The cooperation conducted under the joint statement has been considered successful as has the information exchange between the two countries.

Agricultural cooperation between the United States and Poland began many years before the Helsinki Final Act was signed. From 1960 to 1974, cooperation was based on a special Foreign Currency Research Program, which funded research with the excess Polish currency obtained by the United States through the sale of American agricultural commodities to Poland. In 1974, on the basis of the U.S.-Polish Agreement on Funding Cooperation in Science and Technology, the Marie Curie Sklodowska Joint Fund was set up to support further cooperative activities. A joint board was established to administer the program. With these funds fully expended by 1981, a new agreement was reached but was suspended as a result of the declaration of martial law in Poland. Under the joint fund, the USDA worked on many joint agricultural projects with Poland. Several Polish scientists also participated in the Foreign Research Associate Program of the USDA's Science and Education Administration, a program that allows foreign scientists to participate in on-going research work and to use USDA facilities.

Just as with Poland, cooperative agricultural ventures between the United States and the Soviet Union began in the pre-Helsinki period, primarily under the Agreement on Agricultural Cooperation, signed in June 1973. Under this agreement, a joint committee was formed and divided into two working groups, one on agricultural research and technological development and one on agricultural research and information. The first working group has sponsored work in plant science, such as in 1978 when the United States received five Soviet teams and the U.S.S.R. received two U.S. delegations to study recent achievements in molecular biology, genetics and methods of breeding, and cotton pest and disease control. This working group also dealt with soil science, animal and veterinary services, and agricultural mechanization and machinery. The second working group also has made progress. In March 1978, a Protocol on Scientific and Technological Cooperation in the Field of Application of Computers to Agriculture was signed. Work also has been done in agricultural production forecasting, agro-economic information exchange and inter-library exchange. Under the inter-library exchange, the number of books exchanged in 1978 was double the number in 1973. Activity under the agreement ceased after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979, but the agreement was renewed in early 1984.

While Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic do not have official agreements with the United States concerning agricultural cooperation, some limited activities have taken place in the post-Helsinki period. For example, in April and May 1978, a U.S. team visited Czechoslovakia and held discussions with the Czechoslovak Minister of Agriculture and others on science exchanges, livestock production seminars and dairy improvement programs. That same year, the U.S. Foreign Agricultural Service participated in seminars on livestock breeding and feeding in Czechoslovakia. In June 1979, the USDA sponsored a seminar at the G.D.R.'s "AGRA" agricultural fair near Leipzig.

## Energy and New Technologies, Rational Uses of Resources

The Helsinki Final Act cites energy and the closely related subject of rational use of resources as important subjects for cooperative research and exchange, particularly in the area of new and renewable sources of energy and energy conservation. Much of the activity between East and West in this field has been done on the multilateral level at the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, although there also has been some bilateral progress.

Bilateral cooperation between the United States and the European CMEA countries centers on U.S.-Polish and U.S.-Soviet activity. Energy cooperation with Poland takes place under a pre-Helsinki agreement on coal research, administered by the U.S. Department of Energy and the Bureau of Mines of the U.S. Department of the Interior. Research in the second-half of the 1970s covered areas such as coal extraction and utilization, automated longwall mining, coking methods and magneto-hydrodynamics. In December 1978, during the visit of President Jimmy Carter to Poland, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Polish Foreign Minister Emil Woitaszek discussed the agreement and agreed to conduct a high-level review to examine the possible expansion of activities. The review took place the following year and refined activities to those of mutual benefit. The agreement was renewed in 1980, but activity was suspended as a result of Polish imposition of martial law.

The United States has two agreements in the energy field with the Soviet Union -- the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Energy and the Agreement on Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy -- both of which were reached in the years immediately preceeding the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Under the energy agreement, the responsibility for which rests with the U.S. Department of Energy and the Soviet Ministry of Power and Electrification, activity has focused on subjects such as heat rejection systems; energy forecasting; and oil, gas, coal, solar and geothermal technology and information exchanges. An additional subject which has been cited as particularly beneficial has been cooperative work on magneto-hydrodynamics, a process of increasing the utilization of energy in coal in which the Soviets are considered highly advanced. This agreement was suspended in 1979 and has not been renewed.

An example of U.S.-Soviet scientific cooperation in the field of energy in the post-Helsinki period was the transportation of a 40-ton magnet from the United States to the Soviet Union in June 1977 for a jointly-conducted experiment on increasing the efficiency of electric energy generation.

The U.S.-U.S.S.R. Agreement on Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, managed by the U.S. Department of Energy and the Soviet State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy, provides for cooperation in three major areas: controlled thermonuclear fusion, fast breeder reactors and research in fundamental properties of matter. Working groups were organized in these three areas. Cooperation under this agreement also dropped off sharply after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan but was nevertheless renewed in early 1983.

In the area of atomic energy, the United States and Romania reached an agreement clarifying the supply of enriched uranium to Romania for the TRIGA reactor. While this agreement, entered into force on February 13, 1978, is not strictly scientific, it is an agreement between the two countries in the technical field of atomic energy.

## Transport Technology

Transportation has been an area where both East and West find mutual benefits to cooperation and therefore was specifically referred to in the Helsinki Final Act. As with many other scientific fields, a great deal of the joint activity on transportation has been done on a multilateral level. Nevertheless, there has been considerable activity on the bilateral level as well.

The United States has conducted cooperation with many of the European CMEA signatories to the Final Act, although much of this cooperation predates Helsinki. While activity in this area has seen no great increase since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the cooperative ventures called for in the agreements generally progressed satisfactorily in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

U.S.-Czechoslovak cooperation and U.S.-Romanian cooperation in the field of transportation dates to Memoranda of Understanding reached in June 1968 and November 1971 respectively. Most of the agreed exchanges with Czechoslovakia were completed by the mid-1970s. Exchanges between the United States and Romania were limited to information exchange until the late 1970s, when certains areas, especially rail transport, were identified by both sides as mutually beneficial.

U.S.-Polish activity in the field of transportation also predates Helsinki. As with Romania, the United States signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Poland in November 1971 which was extended and amended several times since. Under the memorandum, research projects on driver habits and training, pedestrian behavior, use of coal fly ash in highway construction, rail track structure improvement and rail safety have been conducted.

Post-Helsinki developments in the field of transportation between the United States and the countries of Eastern Europe involve Hungary and Bulgaria. In October 1978, a Memorandum of Understanding was concluded between the U.S. Department of Transportation and the Hungarian Ministry of Transportation and Postal Affairs concerning research cooperation in the transportation field. Work has mainly focused on rail track deformation, the Hungarian bus development and testing program, and highway and bridge design.

More recently, the United States and Bulgaria attempted to establish cooperative ties in transportation. In 1982, Bulgarian Minister of Transport Vasil Tsanov made an American visit, during which the Bulgarians suggested a transportation research cooperation agreement. In early 1983, a Department of Transportation representative was invited to Sofia for further discussions. The visit was canceled, however, in protest of the strong Bulgarian expressions of support for the Soviet position concerning the September 1 downing of a Korean Airlines plane.

The only inter-governmental agreement between the United States and a European CMEA country in the field of transportation was with the Soviet Union, although the agreement predates Helsinki. Signed in June 1973, the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Transportation was renewed in June 1978 for two years and renewed again in 1980 for a three-year period. Discussions on further renewal took place in 1983 but were canceled after the Soviet downing of the Korean airliner.

## Physics and Chemistry

Cooperative efforts in physics and chemistry also are called for in the Helsinki Final Act, specifically in the areas of high energy and nuclear physics, electrochemistry and chemistry of polymers, and the practical application of chemistry to differing economic sectors. Most of this activity has its roots in the pre-Helsinki years and is the result of cooperation under the general science and technology umbrella agreements. With Hungary, for example, the Agreement on Cooperation in Culture, Education, Science and Technology, signed in 1977 and entered into force in May 1979, mandates that the two governments encourage joint activities in the pure and applied sciences. Joint program subjects include ion-implantation in semiconductors and cationic copolymerization. Under the 1974 U.S.-Romanian Agreement on Cooperation and Exchanges in the Cultural, Educational, Scientific and Technological Fields, joint programs have been conducted on the transformation of carotenoids as well as on atomic and molecular physics. Similar projects, such as on the crystallization of polymers and mathematical physics, have been conducted between the United States and Poland. Under the 1972 U.S.-Soviet Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation, which was renewed in 1977 but expired in 1982, two working groups were formed to encourage research on chemical catalysis and on physics. While chemical catalysis research later proved of insignificant mutual benefit, the physics research was considered productive.

## Meteorology and Hydrology

Another area of science and technology cited by the Final Act as deserving increased cooperative efforts is meteorology and hydrology. As with many of the cited fields of study, however, most of the work has been done in multilateral fora. Most U.S. bilateral efforts with the East European signatories have been with the Soviet Union. A working group on water resources was formed under the U.S.-Soviet Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation which sponsored projects on hydrotechnical construction, management of water resources and remote control in water resource systems. In addition, under the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection, one working group discusses the influence of environmental changes on climate. This group has arranged numerous exchanges of scientists, meetings and symposia, data exchanges and the intercalibration of environmental measuring instruments.

## Oceanography

In the field of oceanography, there has been much bilateral activity, although much of it has its beginnings in the years prior to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Most of the bilateral activity involving the United States and Eastern Europe occurred from 1975 through the late 1970s. After the invasion of Afghanistan and the declaration of martial law in Poland, cooperation was cut back.

In regard to U.S. cooperation with the German Democratic Republic, the Northeast Fisheries Center of the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, supervised by the U.S. Department of Commerce, began in the late 1970s a joint program investigating marine sources within the U.S. 200-mile fishing zone. Activities include herring and plankton surveys, herring stock samplings and mackerel feeding investigations.

Most activity between the United States and the Soviet Union in the field of oceanography is the result of the bilateral Agreement on Cooperation in Studies of the World Ocean, signed in June 1973 and renewed in December 1981. A joint committee was formed under the agreement which then formed five working groups on large-scale ocean-atmospheric interaction; ocean currents and dynamics; geology, geophysics and geochemistry of the world ocean floor; intercalibration and standardization of oceanographic instruments and methods; and biological productivity and biochemistry.

U.S.-Soviet joint oceanographic research has also taken place under the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of the Environment. The Marine Mammal Project, evolving out of this agreement, has concentrated on mammal activities in the North Pacific Ocean. In addition, the Northeast Fisheries Center of the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration has conducted joint research on fisheries with the U.S.S.R. Atlantic

Scientific Research Institute of Marine Fisheries and Oceanography, concentrating on assessments of major fish species in the U.S. fisheries zone, as well as on ecosystem studies.

A program also has been established between the United States and Poland for scientists to meet periodically to review joint projects in herring studies, environmental assessment programs and other areas. The United States also helped fund and operate a Plankton Sorting and Identification Center in Poland.

## Seismological Research

In the area of seismological research, there has been much activity. On a multilateral level, the U.S. Geological Survey participates in a worldwide network of seismic stations through which the United States has exchanged seismic records with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union. In addition, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union have exchanged seismic risk maps with the U.S. Geological Survey, and Poland, Romania and the U.S.S.R. have engaged in occasional joint projects.

U.S.-Soviet cooperation in seismological research in the post-Helsinki period has also taken place under the terms of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of the Environment. A special working group was established to study problems of earthquake prediction and tsunami warnings. Under the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Housing and Other Construction, signed in June 1974, joint work has been done on construction in areas of frequent seismic activity.

## Permafrost and Problems of Life Under Conditions of Cold

Most of the joint East-West efforts involving the United States have been with the Soviet Union in the post-Helsinki period, particularly prior to 1980. For example, under the bilateral Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Housing and Other Construction, one of the working groups concentrated on problems of building in extreme climates. From June 25 to July 2, 1979, a joint seminar was held on "Construction in Permafrost" in Leningrad, where U.S. and Soviet specialists exchanged technical research papers. In addition, under the environmental agreement between the two countries, environmental problems related to permafrost in the construction and operation of pipelines and roads have been studied and, under the bilateral energy agreement, work has been done on the construction of dams and hydropower stations in cold weather conditions.

## Computer, Communication and Information Technologies

The Helsinki Final Act took note of the growing field of computers and communication technologies as an area for East-West cooperation. In this field, the United States has been involved in projects with the Soviet Union under the U.S.-Soviet Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation. A working group on the application of computers to management was established in 1972 and intensified its work in the years immediately following the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Activities have included work on econometric modeling; computer analysis applied to economics and management of large systems; application of computers to the management of large cities; theoretical foundations of software applications in economics and management; and the use of computers in decision-making and the advanced training of high-level administrative personnel. An indication of the increased activity in this field is the fact that 18 meetings were held from October 1972 through February 1976, while 65 meetings were held between February of 1976 to mid-1979. As a result, ten long-term joint research projects were initiated, 15 seminars were organized and between 150 and 200 scientists from both sides met and exchanged material and information. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, however, activity was curtailed very sharply, and, as mentioned previously, in 1982 the agreement was allowed to expire without renewal.

## Space Research

In this field of scientific activity, the United States has cooperated mostly with the U.S.S.R. and Romania among the countries of Eastern Europe. In regard to the Soviet Union, the Agreement Concerning Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes was reached between the two countries in 1972 and was renewed in 1977. On December 29, 1981, President Reagan announced that the agreement would not be renewed in 1982, and it was allowed to expire along with the science and technology umbrella agreement and the energy agreement. While the agreement was in effect, however, six joint working groups were established: in space science; earth resource sensing of the environment; space biology and medicine; space meteorology; search and rescue; and a study on the feasibility of joint U.S. space shuttle and Soviet Salyut space station experiments. Under these groups, there was an exchange of information, lunar samples, soil moisture measurements and satellite data as well as joint seminars and search and rescue projects.

In regard to U.S.-Romanian cooperation in space research, in 1977 a U.S. space specialist conducted a roundtable discussion on the U.S. space shuttle program held at Romania's Space Council and National Council for Science and Technology. Several cooperative activities have been developed from this and other contacts between Romanian and U.S. specialists in space sciences, including cooperation in the Landsat program.

## Medicine and Public Health

Medical research, the development of new drugs and other fields relating to health are recognized by the Final Act as important areas for international cooperation. In addition to multilateral activities, there has been cooperation between the United States and Poland in the area of medicine and public health. For example, in October 1974, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Polish Ministry of Health and Social Welfare signed the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Health. A joint committee for health cooperation was formed under the agreement and charged with responsibility for determining policy relating to the agreement, identifying the priority areas and programs, establishing the mechanisms for cooperation and evaluating the progress of activities under the agreement. The research conducted under the agreement, much of it in the post-Helsinki period, has been considered mutually beneficial.

The United States also has cooperative activities with the Soviet Union in this field, primarily as a result of two pre-Helsinki inter-governmental agreements, the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Medical Science and Public Health of May 1972 and the June 1974 Agreement on Cooperation in Artificial Heart Research and Development. Both of these agreements were between the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Soviet Ministry of Health and were renewed in 1977 and 1982 for additional five-year periods. While the programs coordinated and evaluated by the joint committee for health cooperation, which oversees the agreement's implementation, have been considered generally successful, progress has been uneven. Some projects rapidly moved forward while others remained at the preliminary stages of exchanging background information and exploring cooperative possibilities within a specific project. As with all areas of scientific and technical cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, the level of activity under these two agreements has dropped tremendously in the 1980s.

## Environmental Research

While environmental research is mentioned in the science and technology section of Basket II as one of the 14 areas for increased international coooperation, Basket II concludes with a section dealing specifically with environmental cooperation. U.S. bilateral activities with Eastern Europe are discussed in that section of the report.

# CHAPTER VIII

## BASKET II: ENVIRONMENT

### Introduction

In a separate section of Basket II of the Helsinki Final Act, the 35 signatory countries endorsed close international cooperation in "the protection and improvement of the environment, as well as in the protection of nature and the rational use of its resources..." The signatories declared their intention to pursue "every suitable opportunity to cooperate" in the control of air pollution and water pollution, fresh water utilization and the protection of the marine environment. Guarantees of protection also extended to the utilization of land and soils, nature conservation and nature reserves, and the improvement of environmental conditions in areas of human settlement. Furthermore, fundamental research, monitoring, forecasting and assessment of environmental changes was encouraged, as was the use of legal and administrative measures to ensure implementation of the provisions.

The signatory states pledged their support for cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis through an array of methods, including the exchange of information and specialists, the organization of symposia and joint projects, as well as consultations with other nations. There are several specific examples of cooperation in this field, which exemplify the cooperation envisaged in 1975 with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. The Final Act clearly served as an impetus to efforts in this area.

### Multilateral Cooperation

#### Convention on Long-range Transboundary Air Pollution

Stemming from a Soviet proposal for a pan-European conference on energy, transportation, and the environment, the multilateral "Convention on Long-range Transboundary Air Pollution" and accompanying "Declaration on Low and Nonwaste Technology and Reutilization and Recycling of Wastes", signed in November 1979, are examples of cooperation in the area of pollution control encouraged by the Helsinki Final Act. The Final Act provisions on the environment prompted the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), which had conducted earlier work on environmental problems including an extensive study on the consequences of air pollution, to study the feasibility and utility of a high-level meeting on the problems created by air pollution.

At the April 1978 plenary session of the ECE, both East and West agreed to have the Commission's appropriate body, the Senior Advisors on Environmental Problems, begin preparatory work for a high-level meeting. Later that year, the senior advisors discussed potential topics for such a meeting.

Further discussion centered on transboundary air pollution and non-waste technology, which were then examined in greater detail. The ECE's thirty-fourth plenary session in April 1979 approved the holding of the high-level meeting. It was held that November 11-13, at which time the convention and accompanying resolution were signed and adopted.

The convention contains fundamental principles for combating air pollution, while providing for extensive cooperation in the exchange of information, research, development and implementation of the "Cooperative Programme for the Monitoring and Evaluation of the Long-range Transmission of Air Pollutants in Europe." In the concluding document of the Madrid CSCE meeting, participants welcomed this agreement and gave priority to its effective implementation. This program was developed on the basis of the specific recommendation of the Final Act and has been carried out in cooperation with other international organizations in close association with the United Nations. Setting the CSCE framework into action, the "Cooperative Programme for Monitoring and Evaluation of the Long-range Transmission of Air Pollutants in Europe" is regarded as a specific follow up to the Helsinki Final Act.

Since the adoption of the convention, its signatories have formed an executive body to ensure implementation of the convention's provisions. At its first meeting in October 1980, a working group was organized to consider the effects of sulphur emissions. Another outgrowth of this cooperation is the compilation of a compendium on low and nonwaste technologies. The coordinated action stimulated by the Convention of Long-range Transboundary Air Pollution is progressing toward control over what were rapidly deteriorating environmental conditions.

In line with the goals of this agreement was the conference on air pollution held in Munich from June 24 to 27, 1984 and attended by 29 nations. At that meeting, three East European countries -- the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic -- declared that they would join 18 other nations to reduce the total emission of sulfur dioxide which cross national boundaries to 30 percent of the 1980 level by 1993. While not all of the nations represented at the Munich conference agreed to such terms, all recognized the need for effectively reducing nitrous oxide and the amount of harmful substances in automobile exhaust fumes.

## Convention on the Protection of the Marine Environment of the Baltic Sea Area

A remarkable example of international cooperation in the protection of the environment is the "Convention on the Protection of the Marine Environment of the Baltic Sea Area." This agreement came after years of debate between the seven countries of the region -- Denmark, Sweden, Finland, U.S.S.R., Poland, G.D.R. and F.R.G. -- over how to deal with the Baltic's environmental problems. Although signed in 1974, the negotiations coincided with the Geneva stage of the CSCE and the mandate of the Convention fully reflects the Helsinki Final Act provisions on water pollution control, fresh water utilization, and protection of the marine environment. Affirming the connection between the two documents, Finland's Minister of the Environment, Mr. Matti Ahde said, "The Baltic Sea states have despite different social and economic systems found common goals, a common environmental policy, and undertaken to jointly protect the marine environment of the Baltic Sea. The provisions of the Helsinki Final Act have thus been realized at a tangible level."

Signed and adopted solely for the protection of the Baltic Sea, the Convention also seeks to safeguard the aquatic life of that area. A Baltic Marine Environment Protection Commission, established in 1979, monitors all pollution problems in open waters, and organizes research and investigations of specific concerns of the Baltic, leaving enforcement to each of the seven signatories' domestic jurisdiction. Measured as a regional approach, the convention has proven to be very practical.

A few examples of this progress are the advances made in maritime safety and oil combatting. After exhaustive negotiations, restrictions against the use of the chemical agents PCB and DDT in the Baltic area have finally been legislated. Most importantly, the signatory countries have become bound in a dynamic relationship, working together to regain control over the shared environment, a goal endorsed by the Helsinki Final Act.

## U.S. Bilateral Cooperation

### U.S.-U.S.S.R. Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection

Although initiated before the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the 1972 U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement on the environment reiterates the cooperative tone and spirit of the Final Act. Because the U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement has continued apace with the CSCE process, it is included in this section as an example of the complementary and reinforcing relationship that exists between the two documents.

The "U.S.-U.S.S.R. Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection" is the product of talks between the United States and Soviet Union that began in the fall of 1971. The following spring an agreement was negotiated in Moscow and, on May 23, 1972, Presidents Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev signed the agreement pledging cooperative efforts to deal with the effects of pollution on the environment.

The agreement established a joint committee to oversee efforts in eleven areas of environmental protection: air pollution, water pollution, environmental pollution associated with agricultural production, enhancement of the urban environment, preservation of nature and the organization of preserves, marine pollution, biological and genetic consequences of environmental pollution, the influence of environmental changes on climate, earthquake prediction, arctic and subarctic ecological systems, and legal and administrative measures for the protection of environmental quality.

The joint commission's activities ran smoothly, with the two countries cooperating on approximately 40 projects each year during the mid to late 1970s. However, the serious rift between the two nations over the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 has significantly affected the implementation of the agreement. Since that time the level of activity and funding under the agreement has remained relatively stable at less than 50 percent of the pre-1980 annual level.

However, working-level activities of direct, tangible benefit to the signatories and/or of clear humanitarian import have been allowed to proceed on a case-by-case basis. Scientific projects carried on at the working level have fared comparatively well and, overall, the environmental agreement can still be viewed as a success, with both signatories reaping significant benefits.

### U.S.-U.S.S.R. Migratory Bird Convention

In keeping with the Helsinki Final Act's provisions on nature conservation and nature reserves, the "U.S.-U.S.S.R. Migratory Bird Convention" of October 13, 1978 seeks to guarantee the conservation and rational use of specific species of birds and mammals. This arrangement assigns to the signatories' respective jurisdiction the responsibility for organization and management of nature preserves and national parks and provides for the promotion of national banding programs and the exchange of scientific information. Exchanges of live animals between American and Soviet zoos are also facilitated by this post-Helsinki agreement.

The actual implementation of the convention and the Final Act provisions protecting wildlife is inclusive. Consonant with the terms of the convention, the Helsinki Final Act calls for the conservation and maintenance of existing genetic resources. Close cooperation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union led to the development of programs for the preservation of rare and endangered species, which have met with great success. Because of these coordinated efforts, valuable information is now available to scientists on wintering ecology, stress, and predation factors.

Further contributions to the implementation include the 1979 exchange of the eggs and chicks of endangered cranes and the 1982 reciprocation of three rare specimen of wild horse, allowing for the strengthening of blood lines in both countries. Similar endeavors have led to the creation of catalogues and a bank archiving rare and endangered plant species unique to the United States and the Soviet Union. In conformity with the levels of cooperation mandated by the Helsinki Final Act, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Migratory Bird Convention can be credited with the compilation of an extensive array of published data.

### U.S.-Polish Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection

Another bilateral agreement between the United States and an East European CSCE signatory is the Agreement between the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and the Polish Ministry on Land Economy and Environment Protection on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection, signed in Washington on October 8, 1974. Like the bilateral agreement with the Soviet Union, this agreement was signed before the Helsinki Final Act, but, in the post-Helsinki period, it has become the basis for the development of cooperation through projects, exchanges, and workshop program reviews. Moreover, the agreement paved the way for cooperation through the organization of joint seminars and the lending of apparatus necessary for the research and exchange of scientific and technical information.

Jointly undertaken, this agreement enabled Polish and American scientists to travel and exchange information on activities of mutual interest with a minimal level of constraint. The agreement focused on such subjects as the health effects of airborne particulates, the treatment of industrial wastewater and the control of polluting mine wastes.

In addition, the initiation of many seminars involving the meeting of scientists from East and West can be traced back to this Polish-American effort. In 1975 in Denver, Polish and American scientists met to discuss the influence of stripmining on the environment. A similar discussion concerning the treatment of sewage was held in Cincinnati in 1976. In a meeting sponsored by the Center for the Development of Trade in Warsaw and the U.S. Department of Commerce, representatives from American industrial firms led presentations on the control of pollutants and other wastes. In Katowice, Wroclaw, and Loda, an exhibition on environmental protection problems in the U.S. was included in a scientific symposia held in 1975.

Due to the success of such programs, the October 1974 agreement was extended as it proved useful in the facilitation of environmental cooperation. On September 12, 1977, representatives of Poland and the United States agreed to continue this joint effort for an additional five years. Although conceived before the Final Act, the cooperation promoted by this agreement certainly reflect that endorsed at Helsinki.

## European Bilateral Cooperation

The CSCE signatories in Western Europe also have sought cooperate with East European nations in environmental areas. In recent years, these nations have become very concerned about air and water polution in Europe and, because of the size of the countries on the European continent, efforts to protect the environment inherently necessitate bilateral cooperation between nations. Those signatories that share common waterways or borders are particularly willing to cooperate.

In addition to the multilateral efforts mentioned above, Austria has sought environmental cooperation with its neighbors in Eastern Europe. For example, on June 7, 1984, an agreement was concluded with Hungary concerning cooperation in various environmental areas. In this agreement, both countries committed themselves to promote environmental protection within their territories and to look for solutions to common environmental problems. In additon, the Austrian-Czechoslovak treaty on nuclear power plants near their borders, which went into effect on June 1, 1984, contains provisions relating to air pollution. In regard to water pollution, much has been done with other Danubian countries, although most of these efforts predate the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.

Denmark has also been particularly active in this area, cooperating bilaterally with the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. Soviet and Danish authorities negotiate an annual program for environmental cooperation each year, covering exchanges of information and experts, conferences and joint investigations of environmental problems in the Baltic Sea. While no agreement has been negotiated with the G.D.R., efforts in environmental cooperation have intensified through bilateral contacts such as the 1983 visit of the Danish Minister of the Environment to the German Democratic Republic.

# CHAPTER IX

## BASKET III: HUMAN CONTACTS

### Introduction

The Final Act's provisions to facilitate human contacts are predicated on the recognition that the development of such contacts is a significant element in the strengthening of friendly relations and trust among peoples and nations.

The 35 signatory states stated their intention in Basket III to "facilitate freer movement and contacts, individually and collectively, whether privately or officially, among persons, institutions and organizations of the participating states..." They also agreed to contribute to the solution of the humanitarian problems that arise in that connection, a commitment which provides leverage to improve conditions for family reunification, resolve cases of binational marriages, ameliorate conditions for travel and tourism and encourage meetings among religious representatives, youth groups and other non-governmental organizations.

The Helsinki Final Act has, to some degree, led to freer travel policies in Eastern Europe and provided an overall increase in people-to-people contacts between the United States and every East European country. Most West European states, particularly those with historical, cultural or ethnic ties to Eastern signatories, have experienced similar increases. In addition, since 1975, every East European signatory has taken, at one time or another, limited steps toward greater implementation of the Final Act's human contacts provisions which have resulted in the resolution of outstanding cases and, subsequently, helped to ease bilateral tensions between individual Western and Eastern signatories. It must be noted, however, that in a number of Eastern signatories, particularly the U.S.S.R., initial improvements made after 1975 have not been sustained. For instance, while aggregate numerical increases in people-to-people contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States in the post-Helsinki period have taken place, the bulk of these increases came during the late 1970s.

On the other hand, improvements in human contacts have been sustained with a number of East European countries despite the deterioration of relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. East European performance vis-a-vis the Western signatories can be measured in a number of ways: governmental efforts to remove barriers to emigration such as the termination of restrictions; the simplification of procedures and the lowering of fees; numerical increases in people-to-people contacts; and the resolution of cases involving residents of Western signatory states or in which Western governments have expressed a humanitarian interest. Each of these categories is important in assessing positive accomplishments.

Of equal importance, the Final Act's human contacts provisions -- and the obligations incurred by the CSCE signatories -- emboldened and inspired citizens' claims to emigration and travel. After 1975, citizens from Eastern Europe who sought to emigrate or travel based their claim more often on the Helsinki Final Act than other international documents. This attests not only to the significance, but also the relevance of the Helsinki process. For example, in the three months following the Helsinki summit, it has been estimated that nearly 100,000 G.D.R. citizens sought to emigrate to the FRG, citing the Final Act's provisions on family reunification.

The human contacts provisions of the Final Act have also provided the impetus for the resolution of individual human contacts cases. The U.S. Government, citing the human contacts provisions of the Final Act as justification, has made frequent intercessions on behalf of relatives of U.S. citizens who have been denied permission to reunite permanently or to visit their relatives, friends or colleagues in the United States. One method employed by the U.S. State Department is the periodic submission to East European governments of "representation lists" of people who have been denied permission to join relatives in the United States. Since 1975, a large number of human contact cases which the U.S. Government has actively represented have been favorably resolved. Many West European signatories have also experienced resolution of human contacts cases following bilateral intercessions with East European governments.

In order to enhance and encourage positive implementation, the concluding document of the Madrid Meeting of the CSCE expanded and strengthened the Final Act's human contacts provisions in several specific ways. The participating states agreed to favorably deal with applications for family meetings, family reunification and binational marriages; to decide upon these applications within six months; to refrain from actions modifying employment, housing and other rights of individuals making or renewing applications; to reduce fees connected with emigration to a moderate fee in relation to monthly income; and to inform applicants of decisions and, in the case of a refusal, of their right to reapply after "reasonably short intervals."

## Family Reunification

### The U.S. Experience

One of CSCE's primary tasks has been to resolve family reunification cases. The Final Act establishes a political and diplomatic basis for arguing the expeditious settlement of family reunification cases, and enhances the resolution of pending emigration cases.

Clearly, the Final Act's provisions to "deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family," enhanced people's expectations to emigrate and, at least partially, accounted for the increase in applications for family reunification since 1975.

In the realm of governmental initiatives, as a direct response to the Helsinki Final Act, Hungary and the Soviet Union eased application procedures for persons who wished to be reunited with their families. In early 1976, the Soviet Union enacted a series of measures to facilitate the emigration process. Soviet officials lowered the fee for an exit visa from 400 *rubles* ($540.00) to 300 *rubles* ($406.00); announced that the *40 ruble* ($54.00) application fee need only be paid once an application is approved; replaced the requirement of "character references from the applicant's local party leader" with the requirement for a certificate of employment from a job supervisor; reduced the review of refused applications from one year to six months; allowed children under 16 years of age to be entered on family passports for emigration without additional charge to the family; and delegated more authority to officials of local regional visa offices in the processing of "simple" cases. This set of measures made emigration less expensive and allowed the applicant to renew his application more frequently and at a lower cost. These reforms in Soviet emigration policy were undoubtedly a factor in the significant upward trend of Soviet emigration levels in the late 1970s. In 1976, Hungarian officials reduced the fee for an emigration passport from 1,500 *forints* ($72.00) to 1,000 *forints* ($48.00).

In connection with the Belgrade Meeting, held two years later in 1977, the Soviet Union again lowered visa fees to 200 *rubles* ($280.00). The Soviets announced this reduction at the Belgrade Meeting as a unilateral measure in keeping with the Helsinki pledge to "lower where necessary the fees charged...to ensure that they are at a moderate level."

In 1977, the Czechoslovak Government moved to ease conditions for family reunification. Notably, the Czechoslovak authorities adopted a more flexible attitude toward the cases of parents' separation from minor children. Prague officials gave the American Embassy a list of 20 children of 15 couples in the United States and granted emigration permits to 13 of the children. In early July of that year, officials announced a program under which individuals who had left Czechoslovakia without permission could apply for family reunification through legalization of their status abroad. In 1978, the Czechoslovak Government embarked upon an emigration "normalization process" permitting growing numbers of former Czechoslovakian citizens to return to the country to visit relatives and to obtain permission for relatives to emigrate.

In the fall of 1978, Hungary, which already had one of the more lenient attitudes towards emigration in Eastern Europe, adopted a decree which provided for a more equitable treatment of Hungarian citizens seeking to emigrate.

The most recent unilateral governmental initiative took place in June 1983, when Romanian President Ceausescu gave assurances to President Reagan that the Romanian Government would not create economic or procedural barriers to emigration. According to the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest, since then, complaints of harassment or procedural barriers directly related to emigration applications have occurred much less frequently than in the past.

Although these positive actions are evidence of implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, the relaxation of visa procedures and removal of barriers to emigration assume a subordinate role to the actual resolution of family reunification cases. In general, the Helsinki process has led to increases in the numbers of divided family cases resolved. Aggregate levels for emigration, the majority of these for family reunification, are substantially higher in the post-Helsinki period than prior to 1975. Also, some Eastern signatories have been more forthcoming since 1975 in facilitating problem family reunification cases. Significantly, a large number of divided families who had experienced difficulty in emigrating to the United States, and for whom official U.S. representations were made, have been successfully resolved.

Between 1975 and 1980, overall Soviet emigration to the United States increased. In 1976, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow processed a total of 2,574 Soviet emigrants, more than double the 1975 figure. Although there was a sharp increase in 1976, the upward trend did not continue. The rate of Soviet emigration to the United States dropped from the 1976 high of 2,574 to 2,047 in 1977, and to 1,709 in 1978, although these figures remained higher than those in the years preceeding the signing of the Final Act. In 1979 and 1980, emigration to the United States soared. The 1979 figure of 4,146 was almost four times the 1978 figure. In the peak emigration year, 1980, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow processed a record 6,450 individuals to the United States, representing an increase of 55 percent over the 1979 figure. In 1981, the number of individuals emigrating to the United States dropped to 2,085, although this figure still compared quite favorably with pre-1975 emigration levels. This decline contined in 1982 and 1983.

The following table reflects the overall upward trend since 1975. These figures include persons who presented Soviet foreign travel passports to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow or who were stateless residents of the U.S.S.R. Approximately three-fourths of those receiving permission to emigrate to the U.S. are Armenians, many of whom had immigrated to the Soviet Union shortly after World War II.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1972 .... | 495 | 1976 .... | 2,574 | 1980 .... | 6,450 |
| 1973 .... | 758 | 1977 .... | 2,047 | 1981 .... | 2,085 |
| 1974 .... | 1,029 | 1978 .... | 1,709 | 1982 .... | 480 |
| 1975 .... | 1,165 | 1979 .... | 4,146 | 1983 .... | 311 |

These figures do not fully reflect the total number of Soviet citizens who have come to the United States seeking permanent residence. Many Soviet citizens choose to come to the United States even though they have left the U.S.S.R. with visas for Israel. The figures below, which include Soviet Jews coming to the United States via Vienna, Austria, show a clear upward trend in actual emigration to the United States in the 1970s.

1970 .... 1,250
1971 .... 1,200
1972 .... 3,499
1973 .... 3,758
1974 .... 4,821
1975 .... 6,050
1976 .... 9,576
1977 .... 10,531
1978 .... 18,576
1979 .... 32,940
1980 .... 20,514
1981 .... 9,775
1982 .... 1,211
1983 .... 698

The emigration of Soviet Jews is an issue of vital concern to the United States. Clearly, some positive developments also occurred in Jewish emigration since 1975. More than 250,000 Soviet Jews have emigrated since the Soviet Union first allowed Jews to leave in the early 1970s, first on the basis of "repatriation to their historic homeland" and later for the purpose of family reunification. Virtually all have left the U.S.S.R. with visas for Israel although, as the above figures indicate, about 100,000 have settled in the United States. Most of this emigration has taken place since 1975.

Statistically, Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union increased seven percent from the 1975 figure of 13,221 to the 1976 rate of 14,261. Jewish emigration continued to rise steadily in subsequent years. In 1977, 16,700 Jews were permitted to emigrate, a 16.8 percent increase over the 1976 figure. While the 1977 total was still far below the previous peak levels reached in 1972-73, it did represent a substantial increase over the 1975 total, indicating that the Helsinki human contacts commitments had an effect. This gradual but consistent increase coincided with the first follow-up meeting to evaluate the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act held in Belgrade. In 1978, 28,900 Jews, a 73 percent jump over the 1977 level, were granted exit permission. This represented the highest level of emigration since 1973. In 1979, emigration of Soviet Jews reached its peak when over 51,300 were permitted to leave the U.S.S.R. In 1980, Jewish emigration dropped to about 21,000, a 59 percent decrease from 1979, although this total still compared favorably to annual pre-1975 totals. Figures for the next four years indicate a steady decline. The figures below demonstrate the fluctuation of emigration rates for Soviet Jews.

1971 .... 13,022
1972 .... 31,681
1973 .... 34,733
1974 .... 20,628
1975 .... 13,221
1976 .... 14,261
1977 .... 16,736
1978 .... 28,864
1979 .... 51,320
1980 .... 21,471
1981 .... 9,447
1982 .... 2,688
1983 .... 1,315
1984 .... 896

Besides permitting more people to emigrate, during the late 1970s the Soviet Government allowed the emigration of several dissidents and outspoken human rights advocates. Also, in 1978 and 1979, the Soviet Government resolved a number of long-standing family reunification cases, some of which had been subjects of U.S. Government intercessions since 1947.

In Bulgaria, the total number of people emigrating to the U.S. has been consistently low. In 1980, the peak year, 111 Bulgarians were permitted to leave the country for the United States. With the exception of 1980, there have been no statistically significant increases in the number of Bulgarians emigrating to the United States since 1975. Nevertheless, since Helsinki, the Bulgarian record on resolving outstanding family reunification cases with the United States has shown improvement. Most notably, in the spring of 1976, following a series of official representations, the U.S. received high-level assurances from the Bulgarian Government that pending divided family cases would be resolved. By February 1977, the majority of these cases had been resolved. All but two of the 72 cases which the U.S. Government had raised in the period before the Belgrade Meeting were resolved by August 1977.

The Czechoslovak Government has also improved its record with the United States on family reunification. In the years immediately following the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the Czechoslovak Government resolved the majority of its outstanding U.S. cases. The Czechoslovak Government has shown progress in resolving cases on the divided family list of the U.S. Embassy in Prague. Whereas in May 1977, there were 43 divided family cases on the Embassy's representation list, as of June 1980, this list contained only eight unresolved cases. As of May 1984, five cases were included on the U.S. Embassy's representation list. The number of Czechoslovak citizens permitted to emigrate to the United States for family reunification has remained fairly constant. As is the case with Bulgaria, since the signing of the Final Act, the total number of Czechoslovak citizens who emigrate to the United States has been fairly low, with less than 100 per year receiving immigrant visas.

In stark contrast with Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, Poland faces the problem of a particularly large number of family reunification cases with the United States because many Polish-American citizens lay claim to close and distant relatives in Poland. For this reason, Poland continues to have, with the U.S., the highest number of unresolved divided family cases of any East European country, although since the signing of the Final Act, it has permitted more people to emigrate to the U.S. for this purpose. The number of immigrant visas issued to Polish nationals by the U.S. Government, primarily for family reunification purposes, has generally increased since 1975. After an initial decrease from the 1975 figure of 2,078 to 1,472 in 1976, the figures rose steadily to 1,564 in 1977 and 1,817 in 1978. In 1979, 2,112 Poles received permission to emigrate to the United States. During the liberal renewal period of 1980 and 1981, the number of Poles emigrating increased. Also during this period, fewer Poles reported difficulties in obtaining permission to emigrate to the United States. In 1980, 2,533 Poles received U.S. immigrant visas and, in 1981, 2,778 -- almost double the 1976 figure -- emigrated to the U.S. Following the imposition of martial law in December 1981, issuance by the Polish authorities of all passports came to a standstill. Later, in January 1982, the Polish Government resumed the granting of passports and throughout the remainder of the year the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw issued a record 3,161 visas. In 1983, the U.S. Embassy issued 2,312 immigrant visas.

It should be noted that the number of Poles actually emigrating to the United States is higher than the number of immigrant visas issued. Some Poles hoping to come to the United States travel to West Germany, Austria and Italy where they apply for U.S. political asylum.

The Polish Government has made some efforts since 1975 to resolve outstanding U.S. divided family cases. The number of such cases has diminished since 1977. In May of that year, there were 946 unresolved cases on the U.S. Embassy's representation list. This figure dropped to 840 by May 1980. Just prior to the opening of the Madrid Meeting, Poland struck a positive note by announcing on September 24, 1980, the resolution of 543 divided family cases backed by the United States. During 1980 and 1981, the number of divided cases ranged from 700 to 800; since then, this figure has declined to the current level of approximately 400 cases.

The number of immigrant visas to the U.S. for family reunification issued by the U.S. Embassy in East Berlin has been relatively small since only a small number of G.D.R. citizens apply to emigrate to the United States. The vast majority of G.D.R. citizens who ask for permission to emigrate state that they wish to live in the Federal Republic of Germany. Nevertheless, there was a sharp increase in the number of people permitted to emigrate from the G.D.R. to the United States in the two years following the signing of the Final Act and there has been a steady decrease in the number of unresolved U.S.-G.D.R. divided family cases.

In November 1976, there were 33 unresolved divided family cases on the official U.S. representation list. In 1977, many of these cases were resolved. In early October of that year, the G.D.R. undertook to expedite, on a continuing basis, the resolution of pending family reunification, fiance(e) and emergency family visit cases. Within four weeks, significant progress was made on half of the outstanding cases. The number of divided family cases continued to steadily drop throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, although it rose to 16 by May 1984.

Overall, Hungary's record on family reunification has been positive and has shown steady improvement since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Although the emigration figures to the U.S. depict a downward trend since 1975, more telling is the fact that over 90 percent of the Hungarians who apply to emigrate for reunification with close relatives receive permission without difficulty, a figure much higher than in any other East Bloc country. Those who do not receive permission on the first application usually succeed soon thereafter.

Since 1975, there have been very few cases on the divided family list at the U.S. Embassy in Budapest. In November 1975, there were nine such cases. This figure dropped to three in March 1976 and varied from one to six cases between 1977 and August 1982. Since August 1982, there have been no cases on the Embassy's divided family list. Among the 51 cases presented to the Hungarian Government by the U.S. Embassy since the signing of the Final Act, 46 cases were resolved. The remaining five no longer sought emigration. In contrast to the five-year waiting period for problem case resolutions before the Helsinki Final Act was signed, the delays today have been minimized to three to 12 months.

Since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of individuals allowed to emigrate from Romania to the United States, the majority for family reunification. In fact, more people emigrate from Romania to the U.S. than from any other East European country, with the exception of Poland and the U.S.S.R.

The immediate post-Helsinki period witnessed a surge in Romanian emigration to the United States. The number of people processed by the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest to come to the U.S. permanently rose from 890 in 1975 to 1,021 in 1976. The upward trend in emigration has continued, albeit with fluctuations, until today. Since 1980, over 2,000 Romanians have emigrated to the U.S. annually and, in 1983, a record number -- 3,449 -- emigrated. From January to June 1984, 2,413 received emigration permission.

The figures below include the number of immigrant visas issued by the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest as well as those processed for emigration to the U.S. through a third country. A substantial number of Romanian citizens enter the U.S. through a special third-country-processing (TCP) program, under which Romanian citizens with exit visas who do not qualify for admission into the United States as immigrants are permitted to travel to Rome for processing as refugees by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1971 .... | 362 |
| 1972 .... | 348 |
| 1973 .... | 469 |
| 1974 .... | 407 |
| 1975 .... | 890 |
| 1976 .... | 1,021 |
| 1977 .... | 1,240 |
| 1978 .... | 1,666 |
| 1979 .... | 1,552 |
| 1980 .... | 2,886 |
| 1981 .... | 2,352 |
| 1982 .... | 2,381 |
| 1983 .... | 3,449 |

The lists maintained by the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest of divided family cases have, since 1975, been large. The number of U.S.-Romanian divided family cases in the immediate post-Helsinki period ranged between 700 and 800. There was, however, a subsequent drop in these figures. In November 1978, for instance, there were only 208 cases included on this list. Between 1979 and 1982, the number of cases remained fairly consistent at around 300 people. According to the U.S. Consul in Bucharest, in 1984 there has been significant progress made in resolving the cases found on the U.S. Embassy's representation list. Furthermore, since 1977, there has been an overall decline in the number of unresolved family reunification cases involving immediate relatives on the Embassy's representation list. Whereas in November 1977 there were 218 such cases, in March 1984 there were 66. In May 1981, the Embassy list included 6 immediate family unresolved cases.

## The European Experience

The Helsinki Final Act has exerted a generally positive, albeit uneven, influence on family reunification between Eastern and Western Europe both in the realm of governmental initiatives and in increases in the number of reunited families. This influence is most pronounced in the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and East European signatory states. The German-Polish agreements of 1975 which enabled over 270,000 Germans living in Poland to resettle in the F.R.G. bore a direct relationship to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Indeed, in September 1980, Klaus von Dohranyi, State Secretary in the F.R.G. Foreign Ministry, announced that Poland had lived up to its promise to allow 125,000 Polish ethnic Germans to emigrate to the F.R.G. in the period 1976 to 1979. Mr. Dohranyi added that the number of German emigrants from Eastern Europe sharply increased in the five years following the signing of the Final Act, with 230,000 ethnic Germans emigrating from the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Hungary, while in the five years preceding the Final Act, only 122,500 were allowed to emigrate from these countries.

By invoking the Final Act, particularly in the immediate post-Helsinki period, the F.R.G. urged the German Democratic Republic to adopt a less restrictive practice with regard to resettlement. Similarly, during this period, the number of ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union permitted to emigrate to the F.R.G. increased. All in all, the resettlement of Germans for the purpose of family reunification expanded considerably since 1975. The Helsinki Final Act provided the F.R.G. with legitimacy in its support of family reunification vis-a-vis the states of Eastern Europe with which no bilateral agreements or arrangements on the subject existed. Both for the F.R.G. Government in its bilateral representations and for the ethnic Germans in Eastern Europe, the Final Act provided valuable backing for requests of those who wish to be reunited with their families in the F.R.G. In the view of some German analysts, this legitimation was significantly strengthened by the provisions of the Madrid Concluding Document.

From 1975 through 1983, some 437,000 individuals emigrated to the F.R.G. from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (not including the G.D.R.), many of them for the purpose of family reunification. The greatest number of emigrants came from Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union where there are substantial German populations.

Emigration from Poland to the F.R.G. has fluctuated since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act -- emigration leaped from an average of 7,900 for 1973, 1974 and 1975 to 29,364 in 1976. For the next three years, it ranged between 32,000 to 37,000, dropped in 1980 to 26,637 and peaked in 1981 at 50,983. In 1982, 30,355 Polish citizens, mostly of German background, settled in the F.R.G. although in 1983 this figure dropped to 19,121.

The emigration of ethnic Germans from Romania has markedly increased since 1975. The overall trend has been upward. In 1975 and 1976, 5,077 and 3,766 ethnic Germans respectively were permitted to leave Romania. Since then, the rate has averaged over 12,000 annually and in 1980 and 1983, it surpassed 15,000. As of September 15, 1984, 11,846 ethnic Germans left Romania.

Ethnic German emigration from the U.S.S.R. also showed improvements in the immediate post-Helsinki period. In 1975, 5,985 ethnic Germans received exit permission from the Soviet Union; in 1976, a record 9,704 individuals emigrated to the F.R.G., and in 1977, 9,274 Germans left the U.S.S.R. Although these totals dropped slightly in 1978, 1979 and 1980 to 8,455, 7,226 and 6,954 respectively, they still represented levels substantially higher than in the pre-Helsinki period. Since 1980, emigration of ethnic Germans from the Soviet Union has dropped precipitously.

Emigration from the G.D.R., much of it for family reunification, did not expand until 1984. Between 1975 and 1983, the number of G.D.R. citizens permitted to emigrate to the F.R.G. ranged from 11,343 to 16,285. In early 1984, G.D.R. authorities began permitting unusually large numbers of individuals to emigrate to the F.R.G. For the first few months of 1984, emigration from the G.D.R. averaged over 3,000 per month, almost four times the previous year's rate. In addition, a much larger percentage of those granted permission to emigrate have been working age individuals and couples who normally were not allowed to leave. These recent emigrants have included many who sought for years to leave the G.D.R. Preliminary reports indicate that the number of people permitted to leave the G.D.R. for the F.R.G. in 1984 is over 30,000. According to public statements of G.D.R. officials, this surge in emigration is "in accordance with the Final Document of the Madrid Conference" as well as with the Helsinki Final Act.

The Helsinki process has also found positive expression in relations between Austria and East European signatories. Since 1975, several specific bilateral agreements have been reached in the human contacts area: with the U.S.S.R. on multiple entry visas for journalists; with Czechoslovakia on visas without fees for cultural, sport and scientific visits; and with the G.D.R. on lifting visa requirements for holders of diplomatic or official passports. Specific references to CSCE can be found in each of these agreements.

The number of family reunification cases between Austria and Eastern Europe is numerically small. In the years following the Final Act's signing, the number of Austrian permanent residence permits issued to East Europeans rose from approximately 280 in 1975 to an average of about 370 annually for the years 1977 to 1981. These levels have not been sustained.

Positive developments in the emigration area include the decision by Czechoslovak authorities to grant Charter 77 signatories and other political activists and their families permission to emigrate; since 1977 over 400 have emigrated to Austria. Other bright spots, according to Austrian officials, include the resolution of a number of human contacts cases between Austria and the G.D.R., as well as the G.D.R.'s February 1982 and October 1983 decrees which, despite certain problems, at least recognize family reunification and visits and their relationship to the Helsinki Final Act. As a consequence of the visit in October 1983 to the G.D.R. of Bundespresident Dr. Kirchschlager, a significant number of Austria-G.D.R. family reunification cases were resolved. Furthermore, as a result of this trip, a number of humanitarian and family reunification cases in which Austria served as the transit country were successfully resolved.

According to Austrian officials, CSCE has had a positive effect on their relations with Poland in terms of family reunification. Because of the difficulty involved in obtaining emigration permission, a large number of Poles traveled to Austria where no visa was required until the imposition of martial law and sought asylum. After the lifting of martial law, the Polish Government became more liberal in granting passports, so that many travelers, in spite of the visa requirement, simply have remained in Austria and sought permanent residence.

From 1975 to 1981, the number of Austrian-Polish family reunification cases was small. Following the proclamation of martial law in December 1981, this number rose substantially and, at the beginning of 1982, reached a high point of about 500. There are now about 50 pending cases. According to Austrian officials, Polish authorities are cooperative in this area.

Other Western signatories have had few family reunification cases with the East. Finland, for instance, has dealt with few family reunification cases primarily because, according to Finnish government sources, few Finnish citizens live outside Finland.

Danish officials note that a certain improvement in human contacts can be recorded during the period since 1975, particularly with Poland and Hungary, an improvement which they say is at least partially attributed to the Eastern signatories' wish to comply with CSCE commitments. Numerically very few East Europeans emigrate to Denmark with the exception of Poles, 274 of whom emigrated in 1983.

Emigration from Eastern Europe to France has almost doubled since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act -- from 556 in 1975 to 1,033 in 1983. The most significant gains have occurred in emigration from Poland -- from 185 in 1975 to 575 in 1983 -- and Romania -- from 47 in 1975 to 274 in 1983.

Most Western signatories with unresolved human contacts cases cite the Helsinki Final Act when raising family reunification and other human contacts cases with their East European counterparts. Officials from a number of Western signatories have stated that invoking the Helsinki Final Act has facilitated the resolution of bilateral human contacts cases. In 1977, the Soviet Union allowed some of its citizens whose names had been included on the British Embassy's "compassionate divided family" caselist to join their relatives in the United Kingdom. A more recent example includes three cases raised in Moscow in July 1984 by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe. One involved the father of a Conservative Member of Parliament of Ukrainian descent, Stephan Terlezky. On October 5, 1984, Terlezky's father arrived in the United Kingdom on a one-month visa and was reunited with his son after a 42-year separation.

Officials of the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs note that the Helsinki Final Act formed a new and firmer foundation for the efforts of Swedish authorities to resolve family reunification cases. Because of the Helsinki Final Act, it is now considered possible to request that applications for exit permits be dealt with in a positive and humanitarian spirit. In the Swedish view, the CSCE Final Act has made it possible for official Swedish action to be taken even in cases where neither of the parties are Swedish but where one of them is resident there.

Norwegian officials share the view of most West European signatories that the Final Act has produced concrete results but family reunification between Norway and East European countries has not been significant. Canada also saw improvements in the area of family reunification after the Final Act was signed, particularly with Poland. The majority of Canadian-Polish family reunification cases have been successfully resolved. Canadian officials also stressed the importance which Canada attaches to CSCE principles when making representations to East European governments on human contacts cases.

In relation to family reunification, the Greek Government maintains that considerable progress has been achieved in this field. According to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, some 35,000 Greek political refugees have returned from Eastern Europe since 1974.

In August 1977, Bulgaria allowed over 300 individuals to depart for Turkey under the terms of a Turkish-Bulgarian agreement to unite separate families.

## Binational Marriages

### The U.S. Experience

In accordance with the Final Act, each participating state pledged to consider favorably applications for entry or exit visas for its citizens in order to marry citizens of another participating state.

The majority of U.S.-Soviet marriages take place with little or no difficulty and Soviet spouses are allowed to emigrate within a reasonable period of time. Indeed, Soviet performance on binational marriages has consistently been better than its performance in other areas of human contacts.

In the majority of cases, visas are granted to the American fiance(e) in order to arrange and conclude the marriage. In general, marriage applications are decided within 90 days by Soviet authorities. Approximately 90 percent of those denied exit permission receive a visa upon the second application. According to the U.S. Department of State, this figure has not changed appreciably since 1975.

Since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the waiting period for exit visas after a binational marriage has decreased. The average waiting time for Soviet spouses of American citizens has declined from approximately seven months in 1975 to about four months in 1976 and presently remains constant. In addition, the percentage of marriage cases resolved in three months or less rose from zero in 1975 to 49 percent in 1976.

The number of outstanding U.S. binational marriage cases with Czechoslovakia has diminished since 1975. For instance, in May 1977, there were nine unresolved Czechoslovak-U.S. binational marriage cases. Over the years, this figure has steadily decreased. Since the beginning of 1982, there has been only one active binational marriage case involving the U.S. and Czechoslovakia.

Poland and the United States generally have had few bilateral difficulties in this area since 1975. With few exceptions, there are rarely delays in the issuance of emigration documentation to spouses of U.S. citizens. Between 1975 and 1979, there were no pending marriage cases with the United States. In May 1980, there were 12 unresolved cases involving U.S.-Polish nationals; in May 1981, there were nine; at the end of May 1982, there were seven; and as of May 1984, there were four.

The number of U.S.-G.D.R. binational marriage cases is relatively small. The number of such cases on the U.S. Embassy's representation list steadily decreased from 13 in November 1976 to zero in November 1980, although the number has risen since then.

In a fairly recent development, a G.D.R. regulation which became effective on October 15, 1983 stated that applications for binational marriage cases would be settled within six months of the application. The average time of such settlement had previously been approximately ten months.

Since 1975, there have been only a handful of problem binational marriage cases involving the U.S. and Hungary and since 1979 there have been none.

## The European Experience

While the vast majority of East-West binational marriage cases are eventually resolved, there are some difficulties, mostly due to lengthy authorization procedures.

According to many officials in Western Europe, the treatment of binational marriage cases involving Eastern Europe has been improved by the CSCE process.

Many Western signatories, such as Norway, do not have any unresolved binational marriage cases with East European countries at the present time. Others have only a small number of unresolved cases. Denmark, for instance, as of June 1984, had four unresolved cases with East European nations. Since the signing of the Final Act, about 130 binational marriage cases involving Eastern Europe were considered by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to Belgian Government sources, virtually all binational marriage cases involving East European and Belgian citizens -- over 140 since 1975 -- have been approved.

With very few exceptions, marriages between Austrians and citizens of East European signatory states take place with little difficulty. For instance, with the G.D.R., there has been a sharp increase not only in the number of cases pending but also in the number of cases which have been resolved. According to Austrian officials, the number of marriage applications is very dependent on the number of Austrians working on construction sites in the G.D.R. Particularly in recent years, according to Austrian officials, marriages between Austrian and Soviet citizens as a rule meet with relatively few difficulties. Some problems exist in obtaining emigration permission, although "real chances for emigration exist, provided the applicant is a woman."

## Family Visits and Travel for Personal and Professional Reasons

### The U.S. Experience

The human contacts section of Basket III includes specific provisions to promote travel across national borders for family visits and other personal business and for professional reasons. The Final Act encourages participating states to simplify their visa issuance procedures, lower the fees charged for visas and travel documents and ease regulations regarding the movement of foreigners on their territory. These consular issues are an important component of the bilateral relations between the United States and the countries of Eastern Europe. As with practices regulating family reunification, unilateral actions by one country can exert a positive impact on that country's bilateral relations.

Each of the East European nations has made some progress in this area since 1975. East European countries have enacted measures to improve travel for diplomats, journalists, businessmen and their families and have done so in direct response to the Helsinki Final Act. Radio Free Europe reported in June 1978 that, "The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which ended in August 1975, undoubtedly made some contribution toward the easing of travel restrictions in both East and West, and the Soviet Union and its associates have done more than merely pay lip service to the relevant passages in the Final Act."

In November 1976, the United States and Czechoslovakia agreed to terminate reciprocal travel restrictions on each other's diplomats. These restrictions had been imposed since the early 1960s. Also that year, the United States agreed to terminate unilateral restrictions on ports of entry that Czechoslovakian officials could use to enter the United States. In June 1978, the United States and Czechoslovakia reached an agreement for facilitating the issuance of visas to holders of diplomatic or official passports.

In 1977, the United States and Bulgaria reached agreement to eliminate special travel restrictions on accredited diplomats. In 1981, Bulgaria and the United States agreed to facilitate the visa process by reducing issuance time and fees in many categories of non-immigrant visas.

In 1979, the United States and the German Democratic Republic signed a treaty to establish a basis for consular relations, and to offer U.S. consular officials access to American citizens arrested in the G.D.R. In a 1981 bilateral consular agreement, the U.S. and the G.D.R. established firm obligations on issues such as free communication between a citizen and his/her consular officer, notification of consular officers to the arrest or detention of their nationals and permission for consular visits to nationals under detention. In March 1982, the G.D.R. published new official guidelines expanding the categories of persons who can apply for permission to visit family members in the West.

Hungary moved to relax visa requirements in the post-Helsinki era. In April 1976, the U.S. and Hungary agreed to issue diplomatic and official visas within seven working days. In 1977, Hungary announced that visitors would no longer be required to change fixed amounts of currency when visiting the country. In February 1978, the U.S. and Hungary agreed to facilitate, on a reciprocal basis, the issuance of visas to diplomats and officials and their immediate families. Since then, accredited diplomats and officials have been granted multiple-entry visas for up to 48 months. In 1979, Hungarian legislation enabled former citizens who emigrated for political reasons to obtain regular Hungarian passports to visit their homeland without special permission, and for their relatives still in Hungary to visit them abroad. Hungarian citizens may legally visit the West at least once each year if financial support is available to cover those expenses which must be paid in hard currency.

Poland's visa policies changed most dramatically during 1981. In April 1981, the Polish Government announced a new passport policy to simplify forms, reduce processing times and validate passports for a period of three years. Due to these liberalized procedures, many Poles who had registered with the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw for family reunification in the United States were able to leave Poland on tourist passports, thereby avoiding the customary delay in receiving emigration passports.

In May 1982, Poland relaxed passport restrictions on traveling abroad in the cases of the elderly, disabled persons and the "non-productive." In June of that year, officials further eased passport restrictions in order to facilitate travel by those visiting relatives abroad, those involved in institutional, organizational and inter-city exchanges and those traveling abroad for training and education. In conjunction with the lifting of martial law, the Polish Government announced a policy of liberalized passport issuance. Polish passport offices must now accept all applications for passports and give written reasons for any refusal to issue visas.

In 1976, the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest informed the Romanian Foreign Ministry that, subject to reciprocity of treatment by the Romanian Government for corresponding categories of American travelers, the U.S. would liberalize its visa practices for certain categories of Romanian visitors. The effect of this measure was to permit issuance of multiple entry-exit visas for longer periods of validity than was previously the case. In early 1977, the Romanian Government indicated that U.S. citizens of Romanian origin visiting Romania would be exempted from the lodging and currency exchange requirements for tourists. Also, in October of that year, the U.S. and Romania agreed to facilitate the issuance of diplomatic, official, business and tourist visas on a reciprocal basis.

Further elaborated in Chapter X of this report, the reciprocal U.S.-Soviet agreement on multiple entry-exit visas for journalists went into effect in September 1975. Later that month, and again in March 1976, the U.S. renewed an earlier proposal that multiple entry-exit visas be available not only to journalists but also to students and businessmen residing for an extended period in the U.S.S.R. On August 1, 1984, the ninth anniversary of the Helsinki summit, the U.S. and Soviet Union reached an agreement to expedite the issuance of certain categories of visas. This agreement will also improve travel conditions for diplomats in the two countries by increasing the number of cities through which they can enter and leave from three to five.

The removal of travel barriers has been, to a greater or lesser degree, a factor in total travel increases to the United States from virtually every East European signatory. U.S. entry visas granted to travelers -- so-called non-immigrant visas -- are issued for private, family, student, journalist, exchange, diplomatic, United Nations, transit, crews of ships and planes, and officially-sponsored athletic visits. When compared to the pre-1975 aggregate levels, the levels of non-immigrant visas issued by the United States since 1975 have gone up markedly. This increase has been particularly pronounced in Poland and Bulgaria. In Poland, an average of about 11,000 individuals were issued non-immigrant visas annually between 1970 and 1973. Between 1977 and 1980, that average tripled to approximately 33,000 annually. In Bulgaria, the figures rose from a little over 800 in 1974 and 1975 to about 2,000 annually in the last few years. Increases in the issuance of U.S. non-immigrant visas have also been substantial, if not as dramatic, in Romania, Czechoslovakia, G.D.R., Hungary and the Soviet Union. In the last few years, however, there have been marked downward trends for the Soviet Union, Romania and Poland.

Together with the easing of travel restrictions and concomitant increases in total travel, there have been modest increases in the number of East Europeans permitted to visit family members in the United States during the post-Helsinki period. The information available specifically on private and family visits is somewhat limited, although figures are available for the Soviet Union. The most indicative figures for the number of family visits involve the issuance of B-2 visas, which are entry visas for "temporary visits for pleasure" including private visits and tourism. The majority of B-2 visas -- anywhere from 50 to 95 percent depending on the particular country and particular year -- issued to travelers from the Soviet Union and other East European nations are for family visits.

The vast majority of Soviet citizens permitted to travel to the United States do so for official, individual or professional purposes sanctioned by the state. Close to one-half of the non-immigrant visas issued to Soviet travelers are for diplomats and visits connected with the United Nations while another one-third are for private visits and tourism.

Figures for the issuance of B-2 visas to Soviets, which include tourists and private visits, have risen significantly since 1975, as the following chart indicates. The 1979 B-2 totals, the highest ever achieved, are almost three times those of pre-Helsinki levels. While the number of individuals traveling for private visits or as tourists from the Soviet Union has since decreased, the totals still are well above pre-1975 totals.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 | 1,411 | 1975 | 2,197 | 1980 | 4,067 |
| 1971 | 1,446 | 1976 | 2,356 | 1981 | 2,342 |
| 1972 | 1,540 | 1977 | 1,785 | 1982 | 2,570 |
| 1973 | 1,445 | 1978 | 3,757 | 1983 | 2,350 |
| 1974 | 1,867 | 1979 | 4,477 | | |

The issuance of Soviet exit visas for private visits, the overwhelming majority of which are family visits, rose by 40 percent from 1,184 in 1975 to 1,654 in 1976. In 1977, the Soviet Union allowed a comparable 1,632 Soviet citizens to visit relatives in the United States and in 1978, 1,977 were granted visas to visit their families in the United States. According to the Department of State, the number of Soviet citizens allowed to visit relatives in the U.S. increased by about 20 percent following the Belgrade Meeting. Although the number of private visits has declined since the peak year of 1979, the levels remain modestly higher than pre-1975 levels, as the figures below indicate.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 | 1,087 | 1975 | 1,184 | 1980 | 1,320 |
| 1971 | 1,015 | 1976 | 1,654 | 1981 | 1,650 |
| 1972 | 969 | 1977 | 1,632 | 1982 | 1,750 |
| 1973 | 1,059 | 1978 | 1,977 | 1983 | 1,423 |
| 1974 | 1,135 | 1979 | 2,283 | | |

Since 1975, the number of Bulgarian citizens permitted to travel for private visits, mostly family visits, and tourism, has more than doubled. The following chart indicates a marked increase in the number of B-2 visas issued by the U.S. Embassy in Sofia.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 | 211 | 1975 | 273 | 1980 | 697 |
| 1971 | 181 | 1976 | 381 | 1981 | 855 |
| 1972 | 177 | 1977 | 520 | 1982 | 764 |
| 1973 | 224 | 1978 | 483 | 1983 | 755 |
| 1974 | 364 | 1979 | 772 | | |

The Bulgarian Government also has allowed Americans to visit their families in Bulgaria. In the past few years, denials to U.S. citizens seeking to travel to Bulgaria for family meetings have been rare.

The number of Czechoslovak citizens to enter the United States for private visits and touristic purposes on B-2 visas has steadily increased since 1975. The post-Helsinki figures for visits are significantly above those for the years immediately preceding Helsinki. This is partially due to the Czechoslovak Government's greater willingness to issue exit visas to older people to visit their relatives. Of the B-2 visas issued by the U.S. Embassy in Prague, approximately 70 percent have been for family visits. The following figures reflect this increase.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1971 | 1,873 | 1975 | 3,716 | 1979 | 4,789 |
| 1972 | 1,912 | 1976 | 4,025 | 1980 | 4,766 |
| 1973 | 2,732 | 1977 | 4,067 | 1981 | 5,170 |
| 1974 | 2,570 | 1978 | 4,457 | 1982 | 5,207 |
| | | | | 1983 | 5,115 |

Travel between Poland and the United States is extensive due to the strong and numerous family ties between American citizens and their relatives in Poland. Since 1975, there has been significant progress in terms of the number of Poles permitted to travel to the United States. Throughout the late 1970s, the Polish Government made it relatively easy to visit the U.S. for family meetings. The number of B-2 visas issued by the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, which includes these private visits as well as tourism, has increased substantially since the Final Act. Whereas in the early 1970s, an average of about 10,000 Poles annually received B-2 visas, in 1975 the figure rose to 17,519. After a decrease to 14,751 in 1976, the figures rose to 17,869 in 1977. In the following four years the progress was unprecedented. In 1978, 22,137 Poles were issued B-2 visas by the U.S. Embassy; in 1979, 31,617 received visas; and, in 1980, 34,511 Poles visited the United States. In 1981, a record number 40,963 Poles were permitted to visit the U.S. for private visits or tourism. With the imposition of martial law, the numbers dropped sharply to 13,980 in 1982 and 13,710 in 1983, although these numbers are comparable to the pre-1975 figures. Recently, the Polish Government has relaxed travel restrictions. The figures below are of B-2 visas issued by the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 | 6,989 | 1975 | 17,519 | 1980 | 34,511 |
| 1971 | 9,260 | 1976 | 14,751 | 1981 | 40,963 |
| 1972 | 10,103 | 1977 | 17,869 | 1982 | 13,980 |
| 1973 | 8,699 | 1978 | 22,137 | 1983 | 13,710 |
| 1974 | 15,709 | 1979 | 31,617 | | |

Polish visas have been available to almost all U.S. citizens wishing to travel to Poland for family visits. In the early 1980s, Polish attitudes toward those few Americans who had routinely been denied improved. In early 1980, for instance, considerable progress was made by the Polish Government in granting visitors visas to American citizens of Polish descent, most of whom had left Poland in 1968-69.

G.D.R. citizens are generally permitted to travel abroad for special occasions involving family members. If a G.D.R. citizen has reached retirement age, application to visit the U.S. is usually granted. The number of B-2 visas issued by the U.S. Embassy in East Berlin has increased since Helsinki. In 1983, the number of G.D.R. citizens permitted to visit the U.S. for tourist or family visit purposes reached a peak of 1,886, a modest increase over the previous record year of 1980.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1974 .... | 101 | 1977 .... | 1,195 | 1980 .... | 1,807 |
| 1975 .... | 981 | 1978 .... | 1,548 | 1981 .... | 1,561 |
| 1976 .... | 1,341 | 1979 .... | 1,531 | 1982 .... | 1,435 |
| | | | | 1983 .... | 1,886 |

The number of Hungarians visiting the U.S. has gradually increased since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, although there have been intermittent fluctuations. These fluctuations are primarily due to economic rather than political reasons, such as the devaluation of the forint which increases the expense of the trip. The figures below reflect the generally upward trend in the number of B-2 visas issued by the U.S. Embassy in Budapest. The majority of these visas have been for family visits.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 .... | 4,900 | 1975 .... | 6,057 | 1979 .... | 9,052 |
| 1971 .... | 4,801 | 1976 .... | 6,848 | 1980 .... | 10,305 |
| 1972 .... | 5,635 | 1977 .... | 7,497 | 1981 .... | 10,686 |
| 1973 .... | 6,489 | 1978 .... | 8,053 | 1982 .... | 9,384 |
| 1974 .... | 6,852 | | | 1983 .... | 8,973 |

Although travel practices remain restrictive, the number of Romanian citizens permitted to travel to the U.S. has increased since the signing of the Final Act. As the chart below illustrates, B-2 visas issued in the last few years -- the majority for family visits -- have tripled since 1975. Aggregate post-1975 levels are considerably higher than comparable pre-1975 levels.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 .... | 864 | 1975 .... | 987 | 1979 .... | 2,261 |
| 1971 .... | 575 | 1976 .... | 1,256 | 1980 .... | 2,795 |
| 1972 .... | 606 | 1977 .... | 1,707 | 1981 .... | 3,066 |
| 1973 .... | 843 | 1978 .... | 2,248 | 1982 .... | 2,957 |
| 1974 .... | 1,073 | | | 1983 .... | 2,634 |

Travel to Romania by Americans has generally been encouraged. Entry permission is easy to obtain and, as previously indicated, relatives of Romanian citizens are exempt from the usual requirements of having to lodge at government-run facilities and exchange the equivalent of ten dollars per day into local currency.

Finally, it should be noted that the Helsinki Final Act has served as a useful justification for the United States to raise problem family visit cases on an individual basis with East European governments. Following these intercessions, some countries have on occasion reversed unfavorable decisions on granting entry or exit visas for family visits.

## The European Experience

Since 1975, some East European countries have enacted measures to facilitate personal and professional travel with the countries of Western Europe. Several significant steps have been taken in this direction, according to West European officials. In the two years after Helsinki, the United Kingdom reached a reciprocal visa agreement with Romania and Poland. In September 1977, the Hungarian government announced that, as of January 1979, Western visitors would no longer be required to change fixed amounts of currency when visiting Hungary. Hungary, which imposes the least amount of restrictions on travel from the West, signed a bilateral agreement with Austria in 1977 eliminating entry visa requirements for citizens of either country.

Besides the easing of these restrictions, there has since 1975 been a definite expansion in the number of East European residents visiting their families in Western Europe or traveling for professional or personal reasons.

Numerically, the greatest travel has been between the two German states. Although opportunities for travel by Germans from the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin to the G.D.R. had substantially improved since 1972 as a result of bilateral treaties, the Helsinki Final Act and the CSCE negotiations provided a significant political safeguard for human contacts. Indeed, this is exemplified by the considerable increase in the immediate post-Helsinki period in the number of visits by West Germans to the German Democratic Republic. In part, this was due to a reduction in the minimum currency required by the G.D.R. to be converted and the opening up of travel by private car, both of which occurred at the beginning of 1975, during the final stage of the original CSCE negotiations.

Over 8 million people traveled from the F.R.G. and West Berlin to the G.D.R. and East Berlin annually between 1975 and 1978, many of them for family visit purposes. However, an increase in the minimum exchange requirement in October 1980 led to a noticeable reduction in this travel. In 1983, 5,371,000 visas were issued for Germans from the F.R.G. and West Berlin to enter the G.D.R. Two thousand to 3,000 refusals were noted.

The number of G.D.R. citizens traveling to the F.R.G. or West Berlin has steadily risen since the signing of the Final Act. In 1975, 1,370,831 East Germans traveled to the F.R.G., the overwhelming majority of them pensioners. In 1981, the peak year, 1,600,628 G.D.R. citizens visited the F.R.G., while in 1983, the total was 1,526,974. One area in which there has recently been a sharp increase is travel for "urgent family matters." On March 17, 1982, the G.D.R. published official guidelines expanding the categories of persons who can apply for permission to visit family members in the West. As a result, travel for "family matters", which had averaged approximately 42,000 annually, jumped to 64,025 in 1983.

According to F.R.G. officials, the Final Act has been a factor in improvements in travel between the Federal Republic of Germany and other East European nations. The trend in increased travel between the F.R.G. and Hungary and Poland begun in the early 1970s was boosted by the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. The relatively liberal attitude of the Hungarian authorities toward their own citizens and their relatively liberal implementation of the provisions of the CSCE, particularly in regard to travel, have tangibly advanced human contacts on a bilateral level, according to the F.R.G. Hungary has also been generally cooperative when it comes to solving problem travel cases. Between 1975 and 1983, the annual number of visitors from Hungary to the F.R.G. varied from between 83,000 to 131,000.

Since 1975, there also has been a substantial increase in the number of Poles visiting the Federal Republic of Germany for personal, professional and, particularly, touristic purposes. In 1978, a total of 194,244 visas were issued in Warsaw to Polish citizens for travel to West Germany; in 1979, 224,000; in 1980, over 300,000; in 1981, 184,146; and in 1982, 128,000 Poles received visas for visits to the F.R.G. In 1983, approximately 350,000 Polish citizens were given permission to travel to the F.R.G. Also, there has been an aggregate increase in the number of visits to the F.R.G. from other East European countries, although this increase has not always been steady.

The number of East Europeans traveling to Austria has increased since 1975. While a small number of hardship cases remain, most of these are eventually resolved, according to Austrian officials. Travel to and from Czechoslovakia has increased markedly -- in 1975 and 1976, about 65,000 visas were issued annually by the Austrian Embassy in Prague. Between 1978 and 1983, close to 93,000 visas were issued to Czechoslovak citizens. The number of unresolved cases involving visits to family members in Austria remains constant at between five and ten. Annual Austrian travel to Czechoslovakia, the majority of it for family visits or touristic purposes, has remained fairly consistent since 1975 at about the 200,000 mark.

Despite the restrictive position of the G.D.R. authorities in granting permission to visit Austria, the number of travelers between Austria and the G.D.R. has sharply increased. While this is, according to Austrian officials, partly connected with the CSCE process, it should primarily be attributed to constantly developing bilateral relations.

The number of visits by Polish citizens to Austria was high between 1975 and 1981 although statistical data are not available because there was no visa requirement. Following a drastic curtailment due to martial law, the number of visits climbed back again after July 1983. Travel between Austria and Hungary has increased dramatically since 1975. In 1975, 353,000 Austrians visited Hungary, while in 1983, 1,604,000 visited. Eighty-six thousand Hungarians visited Austria in 1975 while 265,000 visited in 1983.

There has been a significant expansion in travel for personal and professional reasons from Eastern Europe to other Western signatories as well. The number of individuals visiting Norway from Eastern Europe rose over 20 percent since 1975, with increases in figures from every Eastern signatory. According to Danish officials, a certain, though in no way marked, improvement in travel can be recorded since the signing of the Final Act. Travel from Eastern Europe to Greece, much of it tourist, has also generally increased since 1975. The rise has been especially pronounced in the number of individuals visiting Greece from Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union.

French officials attribute some of the overall progress in contacts between individuals that has taken place since 1975 to the Belgrade and Madrid Meetings as well as to interventions made within the framework of bilateral relations. The sharpest increases in the number of family visits have been with Hungary -- 7,755 exit visas for family visits to France were issued to Hungarians in 1983 compared to 3,888 in 1976.

As they do with family reunification, some West European nations raise unresolved family visit or travel cases with East European governments. The Final Act is often cited during interventions on behalf of problem cases.

## Tourism

### The U.S. Experience

The Final Act recognized that tourism offers the possibility of genuine economic and humanitarian cooperation, and committed signatory states to promoting it, both on an individual and collective basis. Such measures envisioned by the Final Act include promoting visits to their respective countries by encouraging the provision of appropriate facilities; simplifying and expediting the necessary formalities relating to such visits; and encouraging the exchange of information about tourist facilities and services between countries.

Many United States citizens tour Eastern Europe to visit relatives, but do so under the auspices of tourism. Travel to these countries has steadily increased since 1975, in part due to Eastern officials' greater receptivity to promoting tourism.

In an effort to attract tourism to their countries, Eastern officials have enacted several measures consistent with the Final Act's provisions to facilitate travel. These travel policies reflect an interest in bringing hard currency into these countries. Notably, Bulgaria and Hungary have enacted measures to promote tourism and virtually all East European signatories have taken steps to improve both the quantity and quality of accommodations for foreign tourists.

In the years immediately following the signing of the Final Act, a number of steps were taken to facilitate U.S.-Soviet tourism. The United States organized a "Visit USA Committee" at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow in 1976. This group worked with Intourist, the official Soviet tourist organization, to encourage Soviet citizens to visit the United States.

Tourism officials from the United States and the Soviet Union have met several times. A Tourism Committee, established under the aegis of the U.S.-Soviet Trade and Economic Council, met in March and December 1978. The Committee discussed such matters as ways of improving two-way tourism flows, non-currency tourist exchange and hotel cooperation. In June 1979, the Tourism Committee met in Washington. During this meeting, Soviet and American delegations discussed matters pertaining to increased cooperation in this field, and signed an agreement to facilitate travel, bilateral air service and cooperation in hotel operation and group tour service. This conference resulted in the implementation of Intourist's computerized reservations system in cooperation with IBM, the introduction of specialized tours for different travel interests and the further expansion of the credit card and traveler check system in the U.S.S.R.

In October 1979, officials from the U.S. Travel Service, Customs Service and Immigration and Naturalization Service traveled to Moscow to discuss existing definitional and operational problems in U.S.-U.S.S.R. travel. The parties agreed to establish a direct data exchange system and to actively pursue development of statistical data according to mutually acceptable definitional guidelines.

U.S. tourism to the Soviet Union increased somewhat after the CSCE summit. Between 1972-74, an average of 80,000 Americans visited the U.S.S.R. annually, while between 1975 and 1980, approximately 100,000 Americans visited the Soviet Union annually. After a sharp decline following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, U.S. travel to the Soviet Union is climbing slowly, particularly in the area of organized tours.

Bulgaria enacted several measures to facilitate tourism after the Helsinki Agreement was reached. In 1977, Bulgaria became the first East European country to waive the requirement that individual tourists exchange at least ten dollars for each day they visit the country. Although entry and transit visas are no longer issued at Bulgarian border-crossing points, tourists traveling on pre-paid Balkantourist vouchers are not required to have visas for up to two-month stays in Bulgaria. Since 1978, tourists to Bulgaria are offered a 50 percent bonus on currency exchange of Bulgarian levs to basic Western currencies. In January 1979, Bulgaria adopted a decree to increase the efficiency of commercial tourism facilities in the country by encouraging private initiatives to supplement tourist services. U.S. tourism to Bulgaria has doubled from 521 in 1975 to approximately 1,000 annually in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

By offering innovative tourist services that enable its citizens to travel to the West, Hungary made several qualitative improvements in implementing the Helsinki Final Act. Since 1975, there has been a marked increase in organized group tours to the United States with the cost payable in forints. Before 1975, only two or three such tours were organized each year; as of 1978, there were about 25 annually. These tours make trips to the United States possible for Hungarians who have no relatives or friends abroad to pay the costs in hard currency. In 1979, Hungary offered a program whereby its citizens would be able to pay for individual travel on some airlines to destinations outside of Europe, including the United States and Canada, with their own currency. In 1982, Hungary granted its citizens the right to visit the West at least once a year, as well as permission to purchase more foreign currency when traveling abroad on private tours. Later that year, the government announced that Hungarian travelers would be able to convert up to three percent more currency, and that while in Hungary they are allowed to possess foreign currency to a value of 2,000 forints (approximately $50.00), up from the previous limit of 400 forints. This money could be taken out of the country without a special permit. By 1983, Hungarian travel agencies allowed Hungarian citizens traveling abroad to purchase a wide variety of services, including airline tickets, hotel rooms and some tour costs in forints, thus reducing the need for the private traveler to obtain convertible currency.

Hungary has worked steadily to improve both the quantity and quality of accommodations for foreign visitors. In addition to building new hotels, small private enterprises have been allowed to flourish to support the tourist trade. According to Hungarian Government statistics, approximately 49,000 Americans visited Hungary in 1975; 50,000 in 1980; and 53,000 in 1981. Visas are rarely denied to U.S. tourists.

In Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, U.S. tourism is also encouraged. According to Polish Government statistics, U.S. tourism, although relatively substantial, has not increased since Helsinki. The Polish Government has actively sought American visitors and, as a general rule, Americans have had little or no difficulty obtaining visas to Poland. About 35,000-50,000 Americans visited Poland annually between 1975 and 1981. According to Czechoslovak Government sources, the number of Americans visiting Czechoslovakia rose from 38,477 in 1975 to

43,474 in 1976. This level was maintained through 1980 but dropped in the following three years. In early 1984, the number of Americans visiting Czechoslovakia increased; in the first six months of 1984, there was an increase of 20 percent in the number of visas issued by the Czechoslovak Government to Americans.

A number of positive steps have been taken by the United States to encourage tourism and to remove travel restrictions since the signing of the Final Act. In October 1981, President Reagan signed the National Tourism Policy Act which, among other things, encourages "the free and welcome entry of individuals traveling to the United States in order to enhance international understanding and goodwill..." Under this Act, a Tourism Policy Council was created with representatives from government departments and agencies with international concerns to plan and develop a national tourist policy.

Furthermore, attempts are being made in the U.S. Government to rectify a number of visa restrictions. A visa waiver provision contained in the Immigration Control Act, commonly known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, would authorize the Secretary of State and the Attorney General to waive the visa requirement for nationals of up to eight countries for an experimental three-year period. While this legislation was not adopted in the 98th Congress, it is expected to be re-introduced in 1985.

## The European Experience

The number of tourists from Western signatories traveling to East European countries has increased steadily since 1975. Tourism from Eastern Europe has also shown gains since 1975, although these gains have been significantly more incremental than Western tourism to Eastern Europe. Individual East European signatories have taken concrete measures to improve tourist facilities and encourage Western tourism. Furthermore, as a rule, West European tourists rarely encounter problems obtaining entry visas. Bulgaria has invested in new construction of tourist facilities such as health resorts and hotels and has improved existing facilities, particularly camping grounds and holiday villages. Romania has made similar efforts to build and expand tourist facilities, particularly on the Black Sea.

A number of East and West European signatories have signed tourist cooperation agreements with each other. In August 1980, a protocol agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria was signed which discussed joint tours, cooperation in third countries, and means to attract tourists from other states. In July 1979, Bulgaria and France signed an accord on cooperation in tourism which will, according to *Le Monde*, "permit the development of the political relations between France and Bulgaria." The accord, intended to promote French vacations in Bulgaria, specified that three hotels and two winter-sport villages be built and developed in Bulgaria. In February 1981, at a Joint Bulgarian-French Commission for Tourism session in Sofia, another protocol was signed which provides for the development of new tourist projects in Bulgaria with French assistance. In 1982, Bulgarian travel agencies made special price offers in Scandinavian countries in order to further promote Scandinavian interest in traveling to Bulgaria for vacations.

While the majority of travel from the F.R.G. to the G.D.R. is for family visits, the G.D.R. is trying to expand hotel capacities and service facilities for Western tourists. Several large hotels for Western tourists have been built and publicity work abroad for tourism has been expanded. Tourism between the Federal Republic of Germany and other East European countries has expanded, particularly with Hungary. Travel in general and tourism in particular have been boosted by the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, according to F.R.G. officials. In the years 1975-80, an annual average of over 300,000 West Germans traveled to Poland. From 1976 to 1981, the annual number of F.R.G. visitors to Czechoslovakia ranged from 250,000 to 320,000. In both cases tourists constituted a large proportion of the visitors. From 1975 to 1983, the number of F.R.G. citizens visiting Hungary doubled from about 350,000 to 700,000.

Most West European countries have noted improvements in both conditions for tourism and an increase in numbers. In some countries, such as the United Kingdom, tourism has risen with East European signatories, albeit slowly. The number of East European travelers visiting France rose from 121,242 in 1975 to a high of 214,693 in 1981. In 1983, 152,980 individuals from Eastern Europe visited France. Since the signing of the Final Act, Hungary, Romania and the G.D.R. have registered the most marked increases in travel to France. According to Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials, Austrian tourism with Hungary and the G.D.R. has exhibited significant progress. In Hungary, numerous new hotels have been constructed or freshly renovated, many with the aid of Austrian investment credit.

## Meetings Among Young People

### The U.S. Experience

The Final Act included provisions on improving contacts among young people. The signatory countries agreed to encourage such contacts by developing youth tourism, exchanges among youth organizations and exchanges of young people. While much of the bilateral activity in the field is conducted under cultural or educational auspices and is therefore discussed in Chapters XI and XII of this report, there are efforts in this field which fall outside those categories.

While Buckingham, Browne and Nichols School in Massachusetts and the Choate School in Connecticut have been sending student groups to the Soviet Union since 1959 and the Forum for U.S.-Soviet Dialogue has participated in a series of conferences with the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations since 1972, other youth organizations such as the American Council of Young

Political Leaders, Future Farmers of America, National 4-H Council, the Friendship Ambassador Program and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) have all expanded existing programs of exchanges and initiated others with the Soviet Union and other East European countries since 1975.

The YMCA Camp Counselors Program began exchanges with the Soviet Committee for Youth Organizations (CYO) in 1975, when six U.S. counselors traveled to the Soviet Union for one month, and six Soviet counselors visited the United States for three weeks. For the last nine years, the two organizations have been participating in an annual seminar on the role of camp staff in promoting understanding between the people of the world.

Starting in 1976, the National 4-H Council, a group of young agricultural specialists, conducted exchanges with the Soviet Union and Poland which lasted until 1979 and 1980, respectively. Although an effort had been made to negotiate an exchange in the early 1960s, not before 1974-75 could a program of exchanges be agreed upon. The first U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchange lasted 12 weeks and involved 15 people. Although the Polish program expired in 1980, a group from Poland visited the National 4-H Council in 1982.

Future Farmers of America (FFA) initiated exchange programs with Romania and Poland in 1977. That year, the Romanian Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and the FFA organized a reciprocal exchange of agricultural teachers in which one U.S. teacher traveled to Romania and one Romanian teacher visited the U.S. The FFA and Polish representatives from the Young Socialist Rural Youth Organization first discussed the possibilities of exchanges at the World Congress for International Farmers in 1976. In 1977, the U.S.-Polish program exchanged eight participants, while five Poles participated in the FFA Conference in Kansas City, Missouri. The U.S.-Polish program ended in late 1982. In 1977, FFA sent an exchange group to the U.S.S.R. for a ten-day visit and met with Komsomol, the Soviet Communist Party youth group. The proposed formalization of an exchange program was never concluded, however. Currently, FFA is negotiating with the Ministry of Agriculture in Hungary for a youth exchange program.

American Field Service International (AFS) coordinates worldwide exchange opportunities for high school students and young adults. In 1983, a new exchange program for young adult leaders was initiated with the Soviet Union. This in turn led to an exchange agreement for the program's continuation in 1984. A 12-member delegation of American young adults traveled to the Soviet Union in October 1983 and another group was scheduled to travel there in November 1984. In 1984, AFS launched a program with Hungary that focused on an exchange of young economists.

Between 1975 and 1979, another non-governmental organization, the American Council of Young Political Leaders (ACYPL), was very active in fostering exchange programs between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, Poland and Romania. ACYPL arranges two-week exchange programs between the United States and foreign countries for the purpose of studying each other's political systems. The American delegations have consisted of Congressional aides, state and local legislators, journalists and Democratic and Republican Party leaders, all of whom are under 41 years of age. During the five-year period from 1975 to 1979, ACYPL sent three American delegations to the Soviet Union with an average size of ten participants, while the Soviets sent five delegations with an average of 11 participants to the United States. The ACYPL sent two four-member American delegations to Romania and Romania reciprocated on two occasions with a total of seven participants. Lastly, the United States sent two delegations to Poland with a total of 11 delegates while Poland sent one delegation to the United States with three participants.

The U.S.-U.S.S.R. Youth Exchange Program (YEP), an organization which seeks to maintain educational exchanges between American and Soviet high school students, initiated its Pen Pal educational exchange with the Soviet Union in March 1983. The program began with an all-day orientation session for the 70 teachers who were field testing a learning resource packet designed to introduce American students to the Soviet Union. YEP is currently exploring the possibility of exchanging high school athletes with the Soviet Sports Committee. Thus far, the Soviet Sports Committee has been very cooperative, and in the next year, YEP hopes to sponsor a trip for 12 high school students to the Caucasus Mountains.

## The European Experience

There has been a steady development of youth contacts -- both bilateral and multilateral -- between Western and Eastern signatory states since 1975. Youth exchanges between the Federal Republic of Germany and the G.D.R. are developing, according to F.R.G. officials. Sixteen youth groups from the F.R.G. maintain contacts with the G.D.R. youth association. In 1983, a total of 835 F.R.G. groups with 22,000 participants traveled to the G.D.R. while 38 groups from the G.D.R. with 1,220 participants visited the Federal Republic. F.R.G. youth contacts also have taken place since 1975 with the Soviet Union and Poland.

Austria conducts a variety of youth exchanges with the countries of Eastern Europe. In the past two years, an increase has been noted in travel groups of young people from the G.D.R. to Austria organized by the G.D.R. tourist bureau Jugendtourist. According to the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Austrian youth tourism in Hungary has experienced an expansion in basic areas. At the university level, exchange programs and mutual visits are carried out. Youth organizations of the Austrian political parties travel to Hungary with no difficulty and are welcome there. A youth exchange has been carried out in the area of young people who are union members. Youth tourism with the Soviet Union as a rule proceeds in cooperation with the Friendship Societies in both countries.

Since the signing of the Final Act, according to Finnish authorities, cooperation in this field has been initiated with the youth committees of Bulgaria and Romania.

The United Kingdom has experienced a steady increase in youth contacts with the East, both bilateral and multilateral. In the U.K., this has been assisted by government funding of an International Department at the British Youth Council. Bilateral activity between the B.Y.C. and youth organizations in East European countries (with the exception of Czechoslovakia) has doubled since 1978.

Similar increases have occurred in the relations of other West European youth councils. Youth exchanges, according to the British Helsinki Review Group, have also expanded with some progress in arranging visits for those who are not part of the official party or national youth organization structure. Also, according to the Helsinki Review Group, considerable progress has been made in establishing an acceptable framework for multilateral cooperation.

International youth festivals, such as the August 1979 World Congress of the International Federation of Young Musicians and the August 1980 International Festival of Youth at Sea, have been instrumental in expanding youth contacts since 1975 and have provided youth from different signatory countries opportunities for meeting one other.

There has also been expansion of other, more informal youth contacts since 1975. In August 1981, the Swiss organization "Poland in Need" sponsored vacations in Switzerland for children from Poland. Over 500 children participated. In the Netherlands, the "Help the Polish Children" organization arranged for some 120 Polish children to spend a month-long vacation in the summer of 1982 with Dutch families in the province of Friesland. In July 1982, 28 French children spent a two-week vacation in the G.D.R. at the invitation of the Federation of German Trade Unions in the district of Gera.

## Sports

The Helsinki Final Act calls upon the participating states to encourage the expansion of contacts and exchanges in the field of sports, including sports meetings and competitions. Since the signing of the Final Act nine years ago, the arena of international sports competition has continued to expand. In an effort to foster goodwill through sports and to elevate levels of competition to world class standards, new exhibitions, tours and meets are constantly being created.

American teams representing virtually every sport continue to be invited to compete with the Soviet Union and other East European nations. These invitations are generally reciprocated, bringing many athletes from the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe to the United States and drawing an ever increasing number of American sports fans to these events.

One such example of American fan interest was the Amateur Hockey Association of the United States (AHA-USA)-sponsored U.S.-Soviet hockey exhibition in December 1983. The tour visited six cities across the U.S., attracting over 80,000 American hockey fans.

The International Hockey Championships continue to remain a positive vehicle of East-West competition for U.S. hockey players. These championships were held in Poland in 1976, Czechoslovakia in 1978, Moscow in 1979 and the 1985 competition is again scheduled for Czechoslovakia.

In addition to national hockey team competitions, several club teams also participated internationally. In January 1983, a Soviet club team from Siberia competed with the U.S. National Team in Michigan and again in September 1983 in Alaska.

Although world championships continue to account for the largest number of East-West competitions and those provide the greatest number of U.S.-East European contacts, individual dual meets are occurring with greater frequency. The Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, the governing body of U.S. track and field, has initiated several dual meets with the Soviet Union and the G.D.R. in the past five years.

Athletic exhibitions also play a major role in East-West sports contacts. The U.S. figure skating team, for example, has traveled to Czechoslovakia and Hungary to participate in exhibitions every year since 1979. Basketball in Eastern Europe, however, continues to outnumber all sports in terms of frequency of exhibitions. International basketball exhibitions account for the largest volume of U.S. athletes per se traveling abroad. Each year numerous private amateur sports organizations and universities send exhibition teams to travel throughout Eastern Europe. Although such trips must first be cleared through the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), logistical coordination and travel arrangements are left to the individual schools and athletic unions. The University of North Dakota, St. Johns University in Minnesota, the University of Illinois, Wichita University, the University of Notre Dame, Penn State University and Washington State University, to name a few, have collectively competed throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe over the last seven years.

College conference all-star teams, privately funded sport unions and fellowships also tour extensively. In August 1983, the Pacific-10 Conference All-Stars traveled to Moscow and Tblisi. Athletes in Action, a private sports organization which draws basketball stars from numerous collegiate conferences, toured Poland in 1983. Another privately funded organization, the American Sports Fellowship, sent a basketball team to Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1982.

U.S. and East European wrestling competitions have also significantly increased over the past three years. In September 1983, the U.S. National Team appeared at the World Championship hosted in Kiev. The following month, an American team completed a one-week tour covering three cities in the U.S.S.R. -- Leningrad, Kiev and Minsk. Earlier, in August 1983, the U.S. National Team competed in Seelanbender, G.D.R., and in 1982, in Bucharest.

The frequency of dual meet competition in wrestling has also increased. In 1984, the U.S. sent both freestyle and Greco-Roman teams for dual meets on several East European tours. In January, a U.S. freestyle team completed a tri-city competition in the U.S.S.R. visiting Ordjhonikidze, Grozny and Tashkent. Also in January, a Greco-Roman team competed in Hungary and Bulgaria. The Soviets and Bulgarians then came to the U.S. in April for a tri-city tour, competing in Chicago, Colorado Springs and at Penn State. Bulgarians returned shortly after to compete again in dual meets in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Seager Falls, Iowa.

In addition to world and dual meet competitions, numerous high school and junior level exchanges take place. These meets are designed for both cultural and competition purposes. In August 1983, Los Angeles hosted a world wrestling competition for 20-year-olds and under. Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union were all represented.

Recently, private organizations, using sports as a platform to exchange political views, have emerged. In November 1982, Athletes United for Peace (AUP), a private organization of sports-oriented citizens, based in Lawrence, Kansas, was formed with the intention of promoting peaceful competition between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Since its founding, the AUP's activities have included: broadcasting in the U.S. radio and television spots featuring prominent athletes discussing the dangers of the arms race; the sponsoring of conferences dealing with the nuclear arms race and international sports; organizing sports-related trips abroad; and the publishing of an international newsletter.

In 1983, a delegation of Soviet athletes traveled to the United States, a trip that was reciprocated in April of that year, when the AUP went to the Soviet Union. The fact of their trip was broadcast on Soviet radio and television and was a tremendous success, according to Robert Swan, founder of the AUP. Since these trips, there have been many meetings between the AUP and their Soviet counterparts. Together they drafted the "Declaration of American and Soviet Athletes United for Peace" and an "Appeal to Sports Publics of the World."

In 1982, two American Alpinists, not affiliated with any official sports organization, received permission from the Soviet Government to scale the four highest mountain ranges in the U.S.S.R., becoming the first non-Soviets to receive such permission. One range has already been scaled and in the summer of 1984 two additional expeditions were in progress. The Americans have proposed that in 1985 both Soviet and Chinese Alpinists accompany them for their final climb.

Gymnastics, tennis, volleyball and rowing organizations also have increased their East-West competitive agendas since 1975 via dual meets, exhibitions and private initiatives. U.S. sports organizations have given their Eastern counterparts high marks for cooperation and accommodation of U.S. athletes visiting their countries. There is no reason to suggest this trend will not continue in the future.

Generally, there has also been an expansion of sports contacts between West and East European signatory states since 1975. There has been a slow increase in the number of sports meetings between the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. with about 80 meetings annually of which two-thirds are multilateral. Finland has exchanged sports delegations with the Soviet Union, the G.D.R. and Bulgaria.

Sports contacts between East European signatories and Austria have also been on the rise. Athletic competitions with Bulgaria, according to Austrian officials have increased noticeably since 1975. The Austrian Federal Sports Organization and the Czechoslovak League for Physical Education signed an agreement on June 8, 1976 for sports exchanges and competitions. Austria also has an agreement for athletic contacts with Poland and Hungary which had reached a high level even by 1975 and have been further expanded since then.

## Expansion of Contacts

This section of the Final Act encourages cooperation and contacts among non-governmental organizations not covered elsewhere in the agreement. The participating states agreed to facilitate the convening of meetings as well as travel by delegations, groups and individuals.

Founded in 1979, the Esalen Soviet-American Exchange Program has sponsored over 30 informal dialogues between American and Soviet scientists and scholars. Current Esalen projects include facilitating an on-going dialogue among young political leaders, exchanging information on farm and garden technology for food production, organizing interdisciplinary working seminars on Soviet-American relations, promoting understanding about holistic health and transmitting satellite educational broadcasts between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. According to staff member Anya Kucharov, Esalen's success over the last four years is due to the personal friendships between Soviet and American colleagues. Esalen, a private California-based educational institute, also maintains contacts with the Soviet Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada, the Soviet Embassy and the Siberian Medical Institute. In September 1983, 32 Americans traveled to the Soviet Union; another trip for 25 Americans, hosted by the Institute of Psychology in Moscow, was planned for September 1984.

In 1982, a "Pen Pal Project" with the Soviet Union was inaugurated under the auspices of the International Friendship League. During 1982, ten people from the United States and Soviet Union were matched. Since then, the number of participants has dramatically increased -- in 1984 there were 500 pen pals maintaining correspondence and 1,000 pen pals are projected for 1985. According to Mr. Steven Scott, director of the project, the marked increase in the American demand for such correspondence reflects a heightened interest in the Soviet Union. American participants range in age from 8 to 70 years of age, whereas their counterparts in the Soviet Union range in age from 19 to 35 with 80 percent of them of college age.

The Pen Pal Project has also matched American pen pals with youth in Hungary, Poland, the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia and Romania. American youths maintain considerable correspondence with Hungary -- 953 Hungarian pen pals participated during the period between August 1982 and August 1983. Hungary ranks as the fifth largest Pen Pal Project in the entire program. During 1983, the Pen Pal Project oversaw 14 pen pals with Romania, 99 with Poland, 59 with Czechoslovakia and an unspecified number with the G.D.R.

In August 1983, several delegates from an American women's group, Peace Links: Women Against Nuclear War, traveled to the Soviet Union and met with representatives of the Soviet Women's Committee. Peace Links, whose goal is to provide a mechanism by which women in the U.S. can link up directly with women in the Soviet Union to sustain peace on a long term basis, has maintained a working relationship with the official Soviet Women's Committee since the group's inception in 1982. Peace Links plans to expand its exchange program in the fall of 1985 when professional women from the Soviet Union will visit the United States. Peace Links also plans to send a delegation of American women to the Soviet Union sometime in the spring of 1986.

In 1983, Bridges for Peace held its first exchange with the Soviet Union. Originally conceived in 1980 by church and peace groups and based in Norwich, Vermont, Bridges for Peace maintains contacts with the Soviet Peace Committee, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society, the Committee on Youth Organizations and the Soviet Women's Committee. This organization sponsored one exchange with ten members of the Soviet Peace Committee in Connecticut from April 26 to May 10, 1984, and planned to sponsor three more exchanges in the U.S., including a delegation of the Soviet Peace Committee, in September 1984. Bridges for Peace also planned to sponsor the exchange of a 15-member delegation of the Soviet Women's Committee and a 15-member delegation of Soviet Baptist and Russian Orthodox leaders from September 27 to October 11, 1984.

The United States Servas Committee, established in 1949, is a private non-governmental organization designed to promote peace and understanding between the United States and East European countries. In May 1977, Servas organized a group trip of teachers, scientists and other professionals to meet with individuals in Poland and Hungary.

## Contacts Among Representatives of Religious Organizations

A special provision of the human contacts section of Basket III is devoted to improving international contacts among representatives of religious organizations and faiths. The Final Act language confirms "...that religious faiths, institutions and organizations, practicing within the constitutional framework of the participating states, and their representatives can, in the field of their activities, have contacts and meetings among themselves and exchange information."

Since the signing of the Final Act in 1975, there has been an intensification of previous efforts to increase contacts among representatives of religious organizations in CSCE countries. Not only has there been a rise in the number of visits to various East European countries by religious leaders from Western Europe and North America, but there have been more joint ventures of various kinds. Such joint ventures include the training of clergy from one CSCE state in another Helsinki signatory country; the convening of international religious congresses in various CSCE countries; and the sending of religious materials from a denomination in Western Europe or North America to co-religionists in Eastern Europe. Not only have prominent Western religious leaders conducted tours of Eastern Europe, but there has been further movement towards ecumenicism among various churches in CSCE participating countries.

The following discussion of contacts and information exchange among religious organizations and figures in the various CSCE states is not comprehensive. Rather, it is an attempt to demonstrate the nature and scope of activities in this field.

### Exchange of Information

One cooperative effort among religious groups encouraged by the Final Act is the exchange of information, including the sending of religious materials to religious communities in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. In 1977, the Soviet Government granted permission to the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, a New York-based ecumenical organization, to send 10,000 copies of the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Bible, to the Soviet Jewish community. Later that year, Pastor Paul Hansen, European Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation, visited the Soviet Union and negotiated an agreement to send to the U.S.S.R. 500 German-language Bibles. The All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists (AUCECB) -- the officially recognized organization of Soviet Evangelical Protestants -- was permitted to import 10,000 German hymn books for its congregation as part of this agreement.

In May 1978, the United Bible Societies (UBS) launched an emergency appeal for funds to buy 22 tons of paper to reprint the Bible in Hungary at the request of the Hungarian Bible Society. In March 1982, the European Production Fund (EPF) of the UBS began sending copies of Braille editions of the Gospel of Matthew to the AUCECB in Moscow. The EPF was informed that 1,000 copies of this Gospel arrived safely and plans to send to the AUCECB a Braille edition of the Gospel of John. In 1982 and 1983, the UBS supplied paper to the printing press of the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate to print 100,000 Romanian Bibles. In October 1983, the Lutheran World Federation received permission from the Soviet Government to send 3,000 Bibles, 2,000 catechisms, 5,000 hymnals and 500 books of liturgical and church calendar information to 150 officially recognized ethnic German congregations in the U.S.S.R.

## Contacts: U.S. and Eastern Europe

Contacts among religious representatives is another endeavor endorsed by the Final Act. Among the many U.S. religious organizations most active in exchanges with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is the National Council of Churches of Christ (NCCC). As part of a larger World Council of Churches (WCC) initiative, the NCCC created a Working Committee of the Churches Human Rights Program for the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. Organized in June 1978, the Working Committee has three permanent representatives and three alternate members.

On January 25, 1980, then NCCC President, M. William Howard, and the NCCC General Secretary, Claire Randall, cited the Helsinki Final Act in a protest they sent to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin over the banishment three days earlier of Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Andrei Sakharov, to the closed city of Gorky. The NCCC and WCC representatives urged the Soviet Government to honor its Helsinki commitments.

Responding to a request from the Russian Orthodox Church, the NCCC, in early 1984, opened a special office to coordinate programs of visits and exchanges with the churches of the U.S.S.R. The NCCC initiated four projects in 1984. In May, the NCCC sponsored a visit to the U.S. of 20 Soviet representatives of the Russian Orthodox, Georgian Orthodox, Lutheran, Baptist, Armenian Apostolic and Jewish faiths. These official Soviet religious leaders met with local religious communities around the U.S. and made a presentation at the NCCC board meeting in Louisville, Kentucky. In June 1984, the largest American church group ever to visit the Soviet Union -- 266 leaders from all parts of the United States, including members of Protestant, Angelican, Orthodox and Roman Catholic faiths -- toured the U.S.S.R. for 17 days. Sponsored by the NCCC, the trip was arranged with the cooperation of the Soviet tourist agency "Intourist" and the officially recognized Soviet churches. Members of the delegation, who paid their own way or were sponsored by their churches, divided into ten groups and visited Russian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Pentecostal and Baptists churches in 14 Soviet cities.

Two activities were organized by the NCCC in October 1984. A group of Russian Orthodox seminary students visited seminaries and theological schools in the United States and a U.S. church leaders' tour of the Soviet Union to mark the tenth anniversary of such exchanges between the NCCC and Soviet churches took place. In addition to its programs with the U.S.S.R., the NCCC also has many programs of exchanges with various East European countries. For example, in 1979, the NCCC invited Dr. Albrecht Schoenherr, President of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the G.D.R., to visit the United States.

An American interfaith group, the Appeal of Conscience Foundation (ACF), has expanded its contacts with several East European countries since 1975. In early 1977, ACF President Rabbi Arthur Schneier, visited the U.S.S.R. and, during a meeting with the official Council on Religious Affairs, arranged to send the Pentateuch into the Soviet Union. In 1978, ACF President Schneier led a delegation to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and the Soviet Union. A year later, Rabbi Schneier headed a delegation which visited Bulgaria for the first time, as well as Hungary and the U.S.S.R. The ACF sponsored a U.S. visit by an interfaith delegation from Romania in June 1979. The delegation, consisting of representatives of the Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant and Islamic faiths, visited the U.S. for two weeks. In November 1984, Rabbi Schneier received an honorary doctorate from the University of Budapest marking the first time that such a degree was given to an American religious leader.

American Lutherans continued and expanded contacts with co-religionists and members of other faiths in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. For example, in April 1984, Bishop James Crumley, Jr., of the Lutheran Church in America (LCA) went on a four-day visit to the U.S.S.R. as part of an American Lutheran delegation. While in the Soviet Union, Bishop Crumley met with Patriarch Pimen of the Russian Orthodox Church, the first LCA visit to the Russian Orthodox Church. The LCA delegation also visited the Russian Orthodox Monastery in Zagorsk to which they donated some books and discussed the possibility of sending a Lutheran professor to the monastery.

In June 1984, Bishop Werner Leich of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Thurighia, the German Democratic Republic, was awarded the Franklin D. Roosevelt medal for promoting religious liberty by the Four Freedoms Foundation, an American organization.

Various Baptist leaders and organizations have been actively involved in exchanges with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union since 1975. In July 1977, a six-man delegation from the official Soviet Baptist group, the AUCECB, visited the United States. In early 1978, there were two major U.S.-Soviet Baptist exchanges. Three AUCECB representatives visited the United States, participating in a prayer breakfast and visiting the

Baptist World Alliance headquarters. A delegation of leading American Baptists, including Dr. William Bright, visited five Soviet cities and held a press conference. The Billy Graham Evangelical Association has organized numerous preaching tours to Eastern Europe for Rev. Graham since 1975. According to Dr. John Akers, Special Assistant to Dr. Graham, "The Helsinki Final Act has unquestionably made an impact on all nations who signed it, and personally I think it is important that the rights of religious believers were made a significant part of the Final Act."

In his first pastoral tour of an East European country in September 1977, Dr. Billy Graham spent eight days in Hungary. Preaching to a total of about 30,000 people, Dr. Graham was hosted by Sandor Palatay, Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Free Churches. In January 1981, Dr. Graham paid a four-day visit to Poland to receive an honorary doctorate from the Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw. In May 1982, Dr. Graham spent six days in Moscow as a special guest of an officially-sponsored peace conference for religious leaders. At the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church and the AUCECB, Dr. Billy Graham conducted a 12-day preaching tour in the U.S.S.R. in September 1984. Dr. Graham was scheduled to speak 23 times, including sermons at Russian Orthodox and Baptist churches in the four cities -- Moscow, Leningrad, Tallinn and Novosibirsk -- on his itinerary.

The Catholic community in the United States continued its various contacts with co-religionists in Eastern Europe. For example, in 1976, high-level Catholic delegations from Poland and Hungary, including Karol Cardinal Wojtyla of Poland, who in 1978 became Pope John Paul II, visited Philadelphia to attend an international Eucharist Congress.

As President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in the U.S., Joseph Cardinal Bernadin of Chicago first visited Poland in 1976. Eight years later, in August 1984, Cardinal Bernadin paid a ten-day visit to Poland at the invitation of Jozef Cardinal Glemp. During his visit, Cardinal Bernadin made over two dozen speeches and traveled hundreds of miles, accompanied by Auxiliary Bishop Alfred Abramowicz. At the high point of their visit, during a mass celebrated by Bishop Abramowicz, Cardinal Bernadin and his colleague were cheered by a crowd of 250,000 pilgrims at the Catholic shrine of Jasna Gora.

American Jewish organizations have been actively maintaining and promoting contacts with their co-religionists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In November 1977, for example, Dr. Laszlo Salgo, Chief Rabbi of Hungary, participated in a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Washington, D.C., at which he invited American Jewish leaders to visit Hungary. In 1978 and 1983, the Polish Government invited American Jewish leaders to participate in special commemorations of the 35th and 40th anniversaries of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The U.S. delegations included representatives of the World Jewish Congress and B'nai

B'rith International. During a June 1979 visit in the U.S. as part of a Romanian interfaith delegation, Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, President of the Romanian Federation of Jewish Communities, met with representatives of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and worked out the basis for a new agreement on Jewish emigration from Romania. Since then, Rabbi Rosen has made almost annual visits to the U.S. to discuss issues of interest to the Romanian and American Jewish communities.

The Orthodox Church communities from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have also participated widely in interfaith delegations to the U.S. and in visits with their American co-religionists. In September 1979, representatives of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in America, including Metropolitan Theodosius and Father John Meyendorff, visited five Soviet cities, including three theological seminaries where they talked to students. A month later, a Soviet church delegation, led by Metropolitan Sergei of Odessa and Kherson, and including Catholic and Baptist representatives, took part in a conference in Connecticut with representatives of the American Episcopal Church. In 1982, Leonid Svitsun of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate in Ukraine, visited the United States to speak to United Methodist church groups. In July 1976, Metropolitan Teotcits of the Romanian Orthodox Church spent a month in the U.S. visiting parishes. Two years later, in June 1978, a Romanian Orthodox delegation traveled to the United States. The first visit to the U.S. and Canada by a reigning Romanian Patriarch, Patriarch Justin, took place in April and May 1979. In July 1984, Romanian Orthodox Bishop Atnon visited the United States. In September 1978, Patriarch Maxim of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, visited the United States and consecrated a new cathedral in Akron, Ohio.

## Contacts: Western and Eastern Europe

Since 1975, contacts among religious organizations in Western and Eastern Europe have flourished. Such contacts include not only meetings between members of the same religious faith, but also ecumenical endeavors. For example, in May 1979, a group of Bulgarian Orthodox clergy, headed by Metropolitan Pankrati, visited Pope John Paul II and expressed gratitude that a fellow Slav had been named Pope. In March 1980, the fifth theological discussion between representatives of the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches was held at the Odessa Theological Seminary. The Roman Catholic delegation was led by Cardinal Willebrands of the Vatican secretariat and the Russian Orthodox by Metropolitan Filaret. In September 1981, Russian Orthodox Archbishop Sabodan of Dmitrov was invited to Munich by several leading Catholic and Evangelical institutions.

During the post-Helsinki period, the Roman Catholic Church has been particularly active in maintaining contacts with its East European churches. In July 1977, Father Pedro Arupe, General of the Jesuit Order, visited the Soviet Union for two days at the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church. The late Cardinal Wyszynski of Poland visited the F.R.G. in September 1978. In May 1979, Cardinal Tomasek of Czechoslovakia went to Salzburg, Austria to participate in ceremonies marking the 250th anniversary of the canonization of the patron saint of Bohemia. Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Casaroli visited Hungary in October 1980 to celebrate the 1,000th anniversary of St. Gellert.

A delegation of West German Catholic Cardinals and Bishops visited religious shrines in Poland for five days in September 1980. The Archbishop of Valencia led a delegation of Spanish clergy on their first visit to the Soviet Union in July 1981 at the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow. Cardinal Koenig, the Archbishop of Vienna, attended the commemoration of the 750th anniversary of the death of St. Elizabeth in September 1981 in Erfurt, G.D.R. The Hungarian Roman Catholic Primate, Cardinal Lekai, paid a brief visit to Vienna in May 1982.

The Orthodox Church has also continued a variety of contacts between its West and East European community. As part of the preparations for the Pan-Orthodox Council, Russian Patriarch Pimen visited Demetrios, Patriarch of Constantinople, in November 1977. That same month, a delegation from the Orthodox Church of Greece attended funeral ceremonies for David V. Catholicos, Patriarch of All-Georgia. In February 1978, Patriarch Pimen again visited Patriarch Demetrios. In June 1978, Archbishop Pitirim of Volokalamsk and Protodeacon Vladimir Nazarkin of the Russian Orthodox Church visited the United Kingdom. Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia led a Moscow Patriarchate delegation to France in November 1979 to attend a meeting of the Professional Association of Religious Reporters. Leading a Bulgarian Orthodox Church delegation, Patriarch Maxim visited churches and monasteries on Cyprus in April 1980. For the first time, a joint theological symposium was held in Greece in May 1980 by leading representatives of the Bulgarian and Greek Orthodox Churches. To celebrate Saints Cyril and Methodius Day in May 1980, delegations from Bulgarian Orthodox churches visited Greece, Turkey and the Vatican. In the first visit to the Vatican by a Georgian Orthodox Primate, Patriarch Ilya II went to the Vatican in July 1980.

European Baptists also maintained contacts with their co-religionists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. For example, in June 1976, the AUCECB invited Dr. Claus Meister, Swiss Baptist Union President, to visit the U.S.S.R. Dr. Meister presented lectures to students at AUCECB Bible correspondence classes and visited Baptist congregations in Volograd, Tashkent, Alma-Ata and Issyk. Later that year, in July, the President of the Baptist World Alliance visited Moscow, Zagorsk, Leningrad, Kiev and Tbilisi. In September 1976, an AUCECB delegation attended the 11th World Pentecostal Conference in the United Kingdom, also visiting the Bible Training Institute. At the invitation of the AUCECB, Dr. Andrew MacRae, Scottish Baptist Union Secretary, visited the Soviet Union in August 1977. In June 1977, the AUCECB delegations visited the Netherlands to attend the European Baptist Womens' Federation. At the end of that year, a West German Baptist delegation, including the editor of a Baptist newspaper, visited seven cities in the U.S.S.R. In 1978, Dr. Gerhard Claas, European Baptist Federation General Secretary, visited the Soviet Union, participating in a baptismal service in Siberia. At the invitation of the AUCECB, another West German Baptist delegation visited the U.S.S.R. in February 1981. Dr. Claas again visited the Soviet Union in May 1981. In that same month, a Soviet Baptist delegation participated in a Conference of European Churches Presidium and Coordinating Committee Meeting in France and a European Baptist Federation Meeting in Denmark.

An Angelican minister, the Rev. Michael Bourdeaux, head of Keston College for the Study of Religion, visited Romania at the invitation of the Romanian Orthodox Patriarch in June 1978. One year later, Rev. Bourdeaux traveled to the U.S.S.R. where he visited Siberian Christians in Irkutsk.

European Lutherans also actively promoted contacts among their religious representatives. For example, in May 1979, leading representatives of G.D.R. Lutheran youth met with their F.R.G. counterparts to discuss expansion of church youth contacts, first in East Berlin and Brandenburg and then in West Germany. In April 1982, Pastor Eltzner led a Working Committee of Lutheran Youth of West Germany and a West Berlin delegation on a three-day visit to the G.D.R. Bishop Lohse led a West German Lutheran Church delegation on a two-week trip to the U.S.S.R. visiting Kiev, Moscow, Zagorsk, Leningrad, Tallinn and Riga at the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Lutheran Church in Estonia and Latvia. The delegation met with Baptists and Germans in Moscow, as well as Lutheran and Russian Orthodox congregations.

Jewish leaders from Western Europe also continued contacts with their co-religionists in the Soviet Union. The Chief Rabbi of France, Rene Samuel Sirat, announced on November 21, 1984 that he had received an official invitation from the Soviet Chief Rabbi to visit the Soviet Union. Rabbi Sirat, who said he hoped to go to the U.S.S.R. early in 1985, also announced that he would try to persuade Soviet authorities to permit Soviet rabbinical students to study at Western seminaries. This is the first time since a 1975 visit to the Soviet Union by the Chief Rabbi of Britain, Sir Immanuel Jakobovits, that a high-ranking Jewish leader has received an official invitation to visit the U.S.S.R.

## International Meetings and Contacts

Founded in 1948, the World Council of Churches (WCC) is an international religious organization comprised of over 300 Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox churches in 105 countries. Headquartered in Geneva, the WCC has been active in promoting exchanges and contacts among its members, including between the churches of East and West. Inspired by the provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, two Russian Orthodox believers, Fathers Gleb Yakunin and Lev Regelson, sent an appeal dated October 16, 1975 to the fifth assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi, Kenya. Expressing appreciation that earlier in 1975 the WCC had spoken out in defense of imprisoned Soviet Baptist leader Georgy Vins and outlining the difficult history of the Russian Orthodox Church under Soviet rule, the appeal made specific proposals to the WCC to expand contacts with and exchanges among religious believers and communities.

The appeal, smuggled out of the Soviet Union, was published in the daily newspaper of the WCC assembly and was hotly debated in several WCC assembly sessions. As a result, the Nairobi WCC assembly tasked a special committee to collect materials on violations of believers' rights in CSCE signatory countries and report its findings to the WCC central committee meeting in August 1976.

In 1976, the WCC conducted extensive consultations with its member churches on the problem of religious liberty in the Helsinki context. Responding to the information gathered, in July 1976, the WCC held a "Helsinki Colloquium" in Montreux, Switzerland. Dr. Phillip Potter, then WCC General Secretary, issued a special report to all member churches on the "Helsinki Colloquium," including a recommendation to "examine and evaluate problems and serious cases of violations of human rights which are brought to the attention of the WCC."

As a result of the "Helsinki Colloquium" recommendation, the WCC initiated a special program on human rights and religious liberty in the Helsinki context. Drafted by the WCC Commission of the Churches on International Affairs in July 1977, an initial five-year program was organized. The WCC plan called for joint sponsorship of the program by the Conference on European Churches (CEC), the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA (NCCC) and the Canadian Council of Churches (CCC), with the CEC assuming administrative responsibility for the program. An 11-member working committee, consisting of four churches from Eastern Europe, four from Western Europe and three from North America, convene at least once a year to review and evaluate human rights problems in CSCE signatory states.

The WCC is involved in numerous other contacts and meetings with member churches from East and West Europe. In July 1977, the Chairman of the WCC Commission on International Affairs visited the Soviet Union as a guest of the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1978, there were at least three major events involving East-West religious contacts. In June, Vazgen I, the Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All the Armenians, paid an official visit to WCC headquarters in Geneva. In June and July, a commission of the WCC met in Sofia to study the role of churches in the development process. In November, Dr. Phillip Potter, WCC General Secretary, visited Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czech Ecumenical Council of Churches and Czech and Slovak WCC member churches to discuss WCC programs.

Representatives of official WCC member Soviet churches also participated in WCC meetings in the West. In January 1979, for example, Aleksei Bychkov, AUCECB General Secretary, attended a WCC Central Committee meeting in Jamaica. In Sentember 1980, Patriarch Ilya II of Georgia, President of the WCC Executive Committee, attended a WCC session in Geneva.

In 1980, the WCC took the unusual step of sending a public letter expressing concern to the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church about the trials of Orthodox believers including Fathers Gleb Yakunin and Dmitri Dudko. Unlike other WCC correspondence between Moscow and Geneva, this letter was intended for publication. Metropolitan Yuvenali, then head of the Moscow Patriarchate Department of External Church Relations and also a member of the WCC Central Committee, sent a prompt and courteous reply. While he made the usual Soviet claim that these individuals had violated Soviet law, more significantly, Yuvenali described the WCC initiative as "positive" and said that the letter had been sent to the Soviet Council on Religious Affairs.

In January 1980, special consultations in Budapest were held between WCC leaders and representatives of WCC member churches in socialist countries. The purpose of the meeting was to increase the involvement and organizational standing of East European churches in the WCC. Participants included Dr. Phillip Potter and Dr. Edward Scott of the WCC and Metropolitan Yuvenali and Archbishop Kirill from Soviet WCC member churches. Special attention was devoted to believers' participation in the development of their societies and the issue of human rights and religious freedom.

Perhaps as a result of the WCC Budapest consultation, in August 1981 the WCC Central Committee decided to meet in Dresden, G.D.R., the first such meeting in an East European country in 25 years. In addition to 135 WCC Central Committee members, the Dresden session was also attended by 550 advisers, guests and observers, including representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. Bishop Albrecht Schonherr, President of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the G.D.R., thanked the WCC for helping G.D.R. churches avoid the extremes of either uncritical conformity with, or mere negative opposition to, the state.

The integration process of representatives of official churches from Eastern Europe into the WCC administrative structure has progressed since 1975. For example, since 1982, one representative of an official Orthodox church in the U.S.S.R., His Holiness Ilya II, Patriarch and Catholicos of All Georgia, has been a member of the WCC Executive Committee and regularly attends WCC meetings all over Europe and North America. Altogether, there are eight Orthodox church representatives on the WCC, including two -- Archbishop Kirill of the U.S.S.R. and Bishop Antonie of Romania -- on the Executive Committee. In addition to the Orthodox churchmen, 11 representatives of other official East European and Soviet churches are members of the WCC Central Committee, including Bishop Tibor Bartha of the Hungarian Reformed Church and Rev. Aleksei Bychkov of AUCECB. There are also five East Europeans on the executive staff of the WCC, including Deputy General Secretary Todor Sabev of Bulgaria.

Two appeals from unofficial sources in the Russian Orthodox Church found their way from the U.S.S.R. to the WCC sixth assembly meeting in July-August 1983 in Vancouver, Canada. The first appeal, from Deacon Vladimir Rusak, described his difficulties with state and church officials after he announced that he was writing a history of the contemporary Russian Orthodox Church. The second appeal was from the Christian Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers, an unofficial monitoring group founded by Father Gleb Yakunin in December 1976, which describes the deterioration in the situation of the Russian Orthodox Church since 1975. While WCC officials responded that these appeals should first be raised with the Russian Orthodox delegates, WCC International Affairs Director, Ninan Koshy, said at the time that further action on these issues would be taken by the WCC General Secretariat and other WCC structures as part of its ongoing work. The assembly also supported the continuation of the WCC Human Rights Program and the strengthening of the Human Rights Advisory Group.

In official statements issued by the WCC Vancouver assembly, the WCC and its member churches are called upon "to identify gross violations of religious freedom and extend moral and material assistance to those who suffer oppression and even persecution because of their religious beliefs and practices." In an explicit reference to the Helsinki Final Act, the WCC welcomed "the work of the Churches Human Rights Program for the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act as a model of regional and inter-regional consultation and cooperation complementing and strengthening initiatives at the world level."

Leaders of various religious denominations with membership in many nations met frequently since 1975 with their co-religionists and with leaders of other faiths, either at international conferences or during visits to CSCE countries. During a 12-day visit to the Soviet Union in October 1977, Dr. Donald Coggan, the Archbishop of Canterbury and spiritual leader of the world's

102 million Anglicans, met with leading officials of the Russian Orthodox Church in a continuing Anglican-Orthodox ecumenical dialogue. In the summer of 1979, during a visit to Hungary and the G.D.R., Dr. Coggan preached at a Lutheran church.

In November 1978, the Commission of Orthodox Churches met in Sweden; participants included representatives from Turkey, the U.S.S.R., Romania, Bulgaria, Cyprus and Finland. An officially sponsored symposium of Islamic Leaders from 25 countries met in September 1979 in Tadzhikistan, U.S.S.R., to celebrate the 1,400th anniversary of the founding of Islam.

Representatives of various Protestant denominations have also held international meetings attended by church leaders from various CSCE countries since August 1975. For example, in June 1978, the 13th Synodal Congress of the Adventist Church in Poland included numerous foreign guests such as Dr. W.R. Scragg, Head of the North European Department of the Adventist Church, Dr. B.B. Beach, Secretary of this Department, Rev. N.A. Zhukhaluk, an Adventist pastor from the Soviet Union, and J. Frey, a church historian from Switzerland. In May 1979, a church conference was held in Hungary to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the death of a major figure in the Hungarian Reformed Church. Foreign church leaders at this meeting included representatives from the U.S. and Romania.

In October 1980, Hungary hosted an International Calvin Congress, sponsored by the Hungarian Reformed Church. Theologians from the Reformed Churches of the F.R.G., France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the U.S. attended lectures and a session of the Theological Academy chaired by Bishop Tibor Bartha.

In May 1983, the G.D.R. Government and Lutheran Church launched in Wartburg a series of events including films, lectures, international symposia, meetings and tours for one million visitors to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther. The church-sponsored celebrations were successful, particularly a series of seven Church congresses attended by over 200,000 participants. The opening ceremony was attended by representatives of various Protestant, Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox and Anglican Churches. The closing ceremony, in November 1983, was attended by such church notables as Dr. Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Phillip Potter, World Council of Churches General Secretary; Cardinal Willebrands, Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity President; Metropolitan Filaret of the Russian Orthodox Church; and representatives of various Lutheran Churches, including West German.

Baptist representatives from various countries have met with considerable frequency since the signing of the Final Act. For example, in 1977 and 1978, Gerhard Claas, General Secretary of the European Baptist Federation, participated in baptismal services in Siberia, U.S.S.R. During a visit to Poland in 1978, Dr. Claas and Dr. Paul Madsen of the Baptist World Alliance donated 10,000 deutsche mark to the Warsaw Children's Hospital. In the first visit to Bulgaria by the Baptist World Alliance since World War II, Dr. Claas and Dr. Denton Lotz of the American Baptist Churches visited that country in March 1978. Later that year, in October, Baptist World Alliance General Secretary Robert Denny visited four cities in the Soviet Union. In the summer of 1979, the Congress of the European Baptist Federation held a meeting in Brighton, England, which was addressed by Aleksei Bychkov, AUCECB General Secretary. Traveling to Hungary, Dr. Claas and Dr. Lotz dedicated new Baptist churches in the autumn of 1979.

Baptist commitment to the goals of the Helsinki Final Act was affirmed at the July 1977 General Council of the Baptist World Alliance in Miami. A statement issued there asserted that fulfillment of all provisions of the Helsinki Agreement is both a duty and a privilege for the world's 33 million Baptists.

Since 1975, the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) has been involved in numerous meetings with co-religionists in CSCE states. For example, in October 1978, Carl Mau and P. Hansen, General and European LWF Secretaries respectively, attended the consecration of an Archbishop of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church. Also present at the ceremony were bishops of the Finnish, Hungarian and Swedish Lutheran Churches and Metropolitan Alexei of the Russian Orthodox Church. In June 1979, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland held a meeting attended by church leaders from Hungary, G.D.R., Norway, Poland, Sweden and the Soviet Union. The LWF European Conference held a meeting in Estonia in September 1980 attended by 100 representatives from 32 member churches. Later, LWF delegates also visited Lutheran parishes in the three Baltic states and in Kazakhstan, U.S.S.R. Meeting for the first time in a East European country, the LWF international assembly was held in Budapest, Hungary in July 1984. During the two-week meeting, 320 delegates, representing 55 million members in 97 churches, discussed, among other issues, East-West relations and the situation of Andrei Sakharov. The opening ceremony in Budapest, attended by about 10,000, was the first religious ceremony ever shown on Hungarian television. A 20-minute memorial service was held on July 20, 1984 at the grave of Hungarian Lutheran Bishop Lajos Ordass and was attended by LWF representatives and the Hungarian Lutheran Church.

Representatives of international Jewish organizations were also actively involved in maintaining contacts with co-religionists. For example, in April 1981, Jack Spitzer, President of B'nai B'rith International and Joseph Domberger, President of the European Branch of B'nai B'rith, were invited to Poland by the Polish government. The delegation met Mieczyslav Jagielski, First Deputy Prime Minister, to discuss recurrences of anti-Semitic incidents in Poland, and with Jerzy Kuburski, Head of the Bureau of Denominations, which supervises the Auschwitz museum. Also in 1981, B'nai B'rith President Spitzer visited Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary to discuss issues of concern to American and European Jewry.

The October 1978 election of Karol Cardinal Wojtyla of Poland as Pope John Paul II and his expert knowledge of the situation of the 22 million Roman Catholics who live in Eastern Europe have enriched East-West church relations in many ways. In June 1979, Pope John Paul II paid an historic nine-day visit to his Polish homeland. The occasion of the visit was to commemorate the 900th anniversary of the martyrdom of the patron saint of Poland, St. Stanislaus. One million Poles entered Warsaw to greet the Pope on his arrival. A 36-foot cross and altar were erected in Victory Square, the Warsaw city center, where the Pope celebrated mass in front of about 300,000 people. The Pope spent three days in Czestochowa, site of Poland's Black Madonna shrine in the Jasna Gora Monastery. In the most tumultuous visit of his trip, 500,000 turned out to greet the Pope in his native city of Krakow. In the first papal visit to a former Nazi death camp, Pope John Paul II also visited Auschwitz. Official Polish television covered the Pope's arrival and departure, his first public mass, and his visit to Auschwitz. Some Catholics from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the G.D.R. were allowed to go to Poland during the Pope's visit.

One year later than originally planned, the Pope again visited Poland in June 1983. Upon his arrival, the Pope celebrated a memorial mass for the late Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. After brief televised speeches, the Pope conferred for two hours with General Jaruzelski. One million Poles crowded into the Warsaw stadium to hear the Pope celebrate mass; he told the crowd that it was his "personal hope" that Poland would find "her proper place" in Europe "between East and West." Later during his Warsaw visit, the Pope made an unscheduled visit to lay flowers at a monument commemorating the 1943 Jewish uprising in the Warsaw ghetto.

# CHAPTER X

## BASKET III: INFORMATION

### Introduction

The intent of this section of the Helsinki Final Act is to promote the development of greater mutual understanding among the peoples of the signatory countries through the freer flow and wider dissemination of information of all kinds. The CSCE signatories expressed at Helsinki and reaffirmed at Madrid their conviction that implementation of the Final Act's information provisions would contribute to the growth of international confidence. Progress in the information field, therefore, can serve to strengthen bilateral relations between CSCE states.

The Helsinki Final Act specifically refers to communication through lecture series and seminars, the circulation and translation of publications and the dissemination of filmed and broadcast information. It also encourages cooperation among mass media organizations, press agencies and publishing houses. Finally, the Final Act calls for improvement in the working conditions of foreign journalists.

Implicit in the Final Act's information provisions, however, is the recognition that the degree of progress in a given signatory country necessarily depends on the nature of its state system. In the West, governments have engaged in official programs to facilitate information flow, but initiatives chiefly have been taken by the private sector independently of the state and are subject only to commercial constraints such as consumer demand for Eastern products and ability of Eastern parties to pay in hard currency for publications, films and other items produced in the West.

In the Soviet Union and other East European nations, any advancement in the field of information requires the political sanction of, and action by, the government. The Eastern signatories' approach to information issues is graphically illustrated by their longstanding efforts in UNESCO to strengthen government control over information content and flow, both domestically and internationally.

In many instances after the signing of the Final Act, Eastern governments deliberately have taken measures to impede or directly to prevent, rather than to facilitate, the flow of information and ideas across their borders. The dissemination of information remains under strict state control and imported newspapers, books, periodicals and films are subject to censorship. Eastern governments have passed laws designed to restrict foreigners' access to unofficial sources within their countries, subject foreign correspondents to harassment and expulsion on politically-motivated grounds and (with the exceptions of Romania and Hungary) continue selectively to jam Western radio broadcasts.

The experience of the United States and other Western countries overwhelmingly attests to the fact that progress in the information field has been very limited, both in general and as compared to other areas of the Final Act. In most of the material provided to the Commission by Western governments, positive comments were either highly qualified or conspicuous by their absence; in other cases, the lack of progress in the information field was noted expressly. For example, the Austrian Government reported "no essential improvement in information exchange, especially by circulation of periodicals and newspapers"; "rather negative developments in the working conditions for journalists in neighboring Eastern countries"; and "in general, communication and working conditions have worsened." Officials from the French Foreign Ministry commented that "taken as a whole, the Eastern Bloc countries remain quite closed to the distribution of information coming from France, especially in the field of newspapers; there is some progress in the distribution of French radio and television programs bought by the Eastern countries. French radio is not jammed... There has been an improvement in the granting of multiple entry and exit visas to permanent correspondents, but in some countries there are still many obstacles." Switzerland summed up the information situation as follows: "This domain, for obvious reasons, is highly sensitive to shifts in the international situation and the Helsinki provisions have gone completely unheeded. The distribution of the Western press has, in general, deteriorated...working conditions for journalists have not developed, where they have not actually gotten worse. These conditions may vary according to the state of relations between the accrediting country and the journalist's country of origin. From this point of view Swiss journalists are not the worst off."

These overall considerations and problems notwithstanding, small forward steps in the information field can be noted here. Prior to 1975, and particularly following the onset of detente, East-West activity in the information field had already been on the increase, but the Helsinki Final Act acted as a further political catalyst, serving to ease efforts already in progress and to stimulate some new initiatives, particularly in the years immediately after the Final Act's signing. Detente has since faded, but those modest gains have been maintained and other marginal measures subsequently have been taken, some of them motivated by the desire to improve, by means of "confidence-building" exchanges in the information field, the East-West atmosphere, and, increasingly, to promote peace.

The following is an illustrative account of such limited, but significant, developments. These necessarily are exemplified chiefly by the U.S. experience, as the Commission found it was in a better position to gather extensive and detailed material from diffuse commercial and governmental domestic sources than to obtain similar material from abroad.

## Dissemination and Exchange of Information

### Oral Information

The Helsinki signatory states expressed their intention "to facilitate the dissemination of oral information through the encouragement of lectures and lecture tours by personalities and specialists from the other participating states, as well as exchanges of opinions at round table meetings, seminars, symposia, summer schools, congresses and other bilateral and multilateral meetings."

The U.S. Government, for example, has fostered the East-West dissemination of oral information chiefly by means of three programs: the American Participant (AmPart) Program, the International Visitors Program (IVP) and the Fulbright Lecturer Program. The Fulbright Program is described in detail in Chapter XII of this report on educational exchange.

American Participant Program

Subject to the approval of Eastern host governments, the U.S. Information Agency's AmPart Program sends American private sector and government experts in science, technology, economics, cultural and other fields, on foreign lecture tours of brief duration. In cooperation with institutions in the host country, Public Affairs Officers serving in U.S. Embassies abroad handle local arrangements for AmPart lecturers.

According to the United States Information Agency (USIA), the Helsinki Final Act serves as a useful reference point when the terms of AmPart exchanges are negotiated with the respective Eastern governments. The extent of the AmPart exchange both reflects and contributes to the overall quality of an Eastern country's bilateral relationship with the United States. Not surprisingly, the AmPart Program has been particularly successful in Hungary and Romania, countries with which the United States has extensive bilateral exchange and trade relations, as well as in pre-martial law Poland and the U.S.S.R. before the deterioration of bilateral relations. Despite the general darkening of the East-West atmosphere, since the AmPart Program was established in the mid-1970s, its overall activities in Eastern Europe have been expanding.

In 1980, the first year of AmPart exchanges with Bulgaria, eight American speakers participated. Every year since, one to nine persons have participated, and the largest program to date is planned for 1984. The number of participants sent to Czechoslovakia rose from two in 1979 to ten in 1980, reaching 12 in 1984. The AmParts Program in the German Democratic Republic grew from 12 participants in 1979 to 21 in 1980, after which the program has averaged 16 speakers per year. Eight Americans lectured in Hungary in 1979, but by 1980, the number of participants almost tripled to 23. Since 1980, the yearly average has been 17 speakers. The AmParts Program in Romania peaked early, with 16 in 1979, 31 in 1980 and 17 in 1981, followed by an average of 12 in recent years. Corresponding with the rise and fall of U.S.-Polish relations, AmParts' speakers in Poland increased from seven in 1979 to 18 in 1980 and 14 in 1981, but fell to an average of five per year following the imposition of martial law there. The AmParts Program in the U.S.S.R. gradually increased from nine lecturers in 1979, ten in 1980, 11 in 1981, to 15 by 1983.

### International Visitor Program

Consistent with the Final Act's information provisions, the IVP, begun in 1948 and presently administered by USIA, aims to strengthen and improve mutual understanding between current and potential leaders and decision makers of foreign nations and the people of the United States. Through professional and social contacts with Americans, the participants (approximately 2,000 annually) are able to gain an in-depth understanding of the United States, its people, its character and its institutions.

In the years since the Final Act was signed, under IVP's auspices, over 900 prominent East European and Soviet citizens have been invited by U.S. Embassies to visit the United States and confer with their counterparts in government, media, science, education and the arts. Whereas Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R. have averaged only 5.7, 3.3, and 2.6 visitors per year since 1975, Hungary and Romania averaged 14.4 and 14.9 visitors per year. Not unexpectedly, with the deterioration in relations following the invasion of Afghanistan, IVP participation with the Soviet Union has suffered reversals. The U.S.S.R. had sent relatively high numbers of visitors in years 1975 to 1979, reaching a peak in 1979 of 70 visitors. However, Soviet participation abruptly declined to five visitors in 1980 and diminished to zero in 1984. Despite the imposition of martial law, IVP with Poland remains relatively active. The pre-martial law yearly average was 26.3 per year, with a high of 44 visitors in 1978. In the years following martial law, the number of visitors has averaged 24 annually.

## Printed Information

In regard to East-West dissemination of printed information, the two-way trade of science and technology publications, both in the original language and in translation, is substantial in the number of titles and volumes. In the mass market book trade, progress has been slower due to considerations of style and reader interest on the Western side and balance-of-payments and ideological concerns on the Eastern side. Western newspapers and periodicals still have minimal distributions in Eastern countries where demand vastly exceeds supply, but incremental improvements in the number of titles and the quantities of periodicals have been made. Some of the more notable developments in this field are described below in chronological order.

Following the U.S.S.R.'s accession to the Universal Copyright Convention in 1973, a number of exploratory contacts were made between Soviet and U.S. publishing agencies. One such effort in 1975 was the trip to Moscow of Townsend Hoopes, President of the Association of American Publishers. His initial contacts with Soviet publishers led to a Moscow seminar in 1976 attended by 12 U.S. publishers. The purpose of the seminar was to improve Soviet understanding of U.S. publishing practices and of the complexities of the U.S. book market. The seminar resulted in a general cooperative understanding in anticipation of the first Moscow International Book Fair. At the time, Boris Stukalin, a member of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, said the seminar had been made possible by detente and the Helsinki Accords. A return meeting, attended by 14 Soviet publishers, took place one year later in New York where the ground was laid for an increase in the sale of authors' rights and joint publishing endeavors. In 1977, the first Moscow International Book Fair was held. The Book Fair served as a meeting-ground for publishers from CSCE states. Seventy-eight American publishing houses sent representatives who signed 90 contracts for the purchase of Soviet titles. Contracts for 106 U.S. titles were signed by Soviet publishing representatives.

In 1977, Mezdunarodnaya Kniga in Moscow signed an agreement with the U.S. firm of Harry N. Abrams, publisher of art books and a subsidiary of the Times Mirror Company, providing for the importation and distribution in the West by Abrams of 14 books translated into English and produced by Aurora Publishers in Leningrad. By 1984, Abrams and Aurora had similarly cooperated in publishing seven additional titles. With regard to the production of one such title, "Folk Art of the U.S.S.R.," Aurora's Sergei Zverev told Publisher's Weekly: "Our real purpose is to present our culture to other countries. It's a way of building the house of peace and also carrying out the Helsinki Agreement. We now have connections with 34 companies in 17 countries." Also in 1977, the National Technical Information Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce signed an agreement with the Soviet Government providing for cover-to-cover translation into English of six Soviet periodicals on socio-political and technological topics.

Under contract with the National Science Foundation, the Franklin Book Programs and other U.S. publishers began translating Soviet scientific works in 1977. The translation of scientific journals now is extensive. By 1984, more than 100 Soviet journals were being translated into English and more than 30 U.S. into Russian.

By early 1979, the Soviet Union permitted the importation and selective dissemination of a number of non-Communist, Western newspapers, including the International Herald Tribune. However, the Soviet readership was, and remains, limited to officials in government ministries, institutions and libraries, where access is restricted, and to foreign tourists at the major hotels in large cities or at airports. On April 5, an agreement between Soviet and British publishers on increasing cooperation in book exchanges and a protocol on an exchange of books were signed in London. Soviet News commented that these steps were a continuation of earlier developments in the information field and are "in furtherance of the provisions of the Helsinki Agreement."

Also that year, in September, the second Moscow International Book Fair was held. Opening the fair, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev noted that the U.S.S.R. published "more translations of foreign authors than any other country, which was in the spirit of the Helsinki Accords." More than 250 U.S. publishers were represented at this Book Fair. The Association of American Publishers displayed an impressive 13,000 titles and also presented a 321-book exhibit entitled "America Through American Eyes". At the 1979 book fair, an agreement was concluded between the New York-based Plenum Publishing Corporation and Soviet publishing authorities providing Plenum with the right to translate and publish material from more than 90 Soviet journals during the next ten years. The agreement also permits Plenum to expand its translations of Soviet technical books. Reportedly, Plenum provides royalties on a "minimum of $87 million in sales of translated works." The New York Times called the deal the "largest journal agreement of its kind concluded anywhere." Also generated by the Book Fair was a Soviet contract with another American firm, Macmillan Publishing Company, which gave it the rights to publish Soviet scientific and technical literature. Macmillan already had the rights to publish the Great Soviet Encyclopedia in English. The F.R.G.-based Springer-Verlag also concluded 20 export-import contracts involving scientific and technical literature at the 1979 Book Fair.

In 1981 and 1983, U.S. publishers participated in the Moscow International Book Fairs, but in greatly reduced numbers due to poor book sales and in protest against the Soviet treatment of nonconformist writers.

In January 1983, Scientific American, a comprehensive science monthly, reached a licensing agreement with the Soviet publishing house Mir and with VAAP, the Soviet copyright authority, for a Russian-language edition of the noted U.S. journal to be sold in the U.S.S.R.

Since 1956, by strict reciprocal arrangement, Russian-language edition copies of the hugely popular monthly magazine America Illustrated are distributed in the Soviet Union through the agency Soyuzpechat in return for the distribution of the Soviet magazine, Soviet Life, in the United States. At the present time, 62,000 copies are distributed. However, despite heavy demand in the Soviet Union, each month, hundreds of copies are returned regularly to the United States Embassy by the Soviets in order to keep levels of distribution in line with sales of the less marketable Soviet Life. A Russian-language edition of Dialogue, a quarterly intellectual journal circulated at no charge by the U.S. Embassy in Moscow to a select professional readership, began publication in 1980. By 1983, distribution of Dialogue reached 5,500 copies. The Russian-language editions of both America Illustrated and Dialogue are published by the U.S. Information Agency.

In the spring of 1984, as part of its Soviet-American Exchange Program, the Esalen Institute, a California-based educational institute, reached an agreement with the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Publishing (Goskomizdat) to organize an American book exhibit of approximately 1,000 titles in the areas of health promotion, psychology and medicine. The date of its inauguration in Moscow was set for January 1985 and the exhibit is expected to travel to Novosibirsk and Tbilisi. In return, in the spring of 1985, the Soviets will bring an exhibit of Soviet books to California. These reciprocal book exhibitions will be accompanied by two or three authors from each country who will lecture and conduct seminars on their works and on the literature of their respective countries.

Finally, most major U.S. Government, research and university libraries have exchange agreements with Soviet and East European libraries. The operation of these extensive library exchanges has been insulated from the vicissitudes of East-West relations. Currently, for example, the Library of Congress has 62 exchange partners in the U.S.S.R., including an official exchange of government documents and scientific periodicals with Moscow's Lenin Library.

U.S. experience in the exchange of printed information has been similar with other East European CSCE states. The English-language edition of Scientific American and most other U.S. scientific and technological journals are disseminated to the Soviet Union and other East European countries through subscriptions largely to official institutions but these publications are not put on public sale. Dialogue also is translated by the U.S. Information Agency and distributed widely within the Eastern countries. In 1983, 6,200 copies of the Bulgarian version of Dialogue, entitled Spektur, were circulated; 7,200 copies of another translated version of Dialogue, Spektrum, were disseminated in Czechoslovakia; 16,200 copies of the Romanian-language version of Dialogue, Sinteza, were circulated; 55,800 copies of the Hungarian-language version entitled USA, were sent to Hungary; and the G.D.R. permitted the distribution of 300 English copies of Dialogue.

In the G.D.R., a major development in this field occurred on September 30, 1981 when the Foreign Ministry dropped a previous requirement that Western embassies submit for advance approval any material, including foreign policy statements, which they intend to distribute.

In Poland, circulation of Ameryka, a version of the USIA publication Dialogue, had climbed to 32,000 before the martial law government ordered the suspension of its distribution in 1982. According to a spokesperson for Macmillan Publishing Company, serious efforts have been made by U.S. firms to increase the book trade with Poland. Due to the scarcity of hard currency, U.S. publishers are accepting Polish zlotys deposited in Warsaw banks as payment for the publications that Poland imports from the United States. In Warsaw and other major cities, Polish citizens continue to have unrestricted access to public reading rooms where a fairly wide selection of Western publications is made available. Providing they can pay for them in hard currency, Poles can subscribe to foreign newspapers but receipt is subject to censorship of the mails.

In 1983, Hungary began allowing its citizens to subscribe directly to Western periodicals, including The International Herald Tribune, Time and Newsweek, and to pay for subscriptions in local currency at prices roughly equivalent to those in Western Europe. Hungary in particular translates large numbers of foreign titles. In 1982, for example, Hungary translated and published works by 38 U.S. authors.

Annual international book fairs are held in Warsaw, Leipzig and Sofia. International book exhibitions are also organized on a regular basis in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The G.D.R. has permitted the U.S. Information Agency to exhibit at the Leipzig fair. At the 1981 American Booksellers Association annual convention in Atlanta, Hungarian publishing agents were represented in the United States for the first time.

## Films

The Final Act encourages the participating states to improve the East-West dissemination of information through film, television and radio. Activity in this area has been fostered by commercial and non-commercial distribution arrangements and contracts between competent bodies and enterprises in CSCE states, by co-productions, by exchanges between film libraries and institutes, by contacts among film archivists and by international film festivals such as the annual Cannes Film Festival. Audiences in Eastern Europe, particularly in Hungary, Romania and Poland, are well-acquainted with U.S. and other Western films, many of which are broadcast over television. In the United States and other Western countries, museums, film institutes and universities are particularly active in arranging not only individual showings of East European productions, but film series as well.

After the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, the number of Soviet and East European -- particularly Hungarian, Polish and Soviet -- films shown in the United States and other Western countries began to grow. The increase can largely be ascribed to the fact that in recent years, those countries have been producing films which attract a broader Western audience and, therefore, are more marketable. Although the following account is by no means exhaustive, it chronicles relevant and notable U.S. and international film events that have occurred since 1975.

In 1975, the American Film Institute in Washington, D.C. presented a series of Soviet and Polish films which were also screened in museums around the country. During the same year, the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in Washington, D.C. sponsored a festival of modern Soviet cinema. In December 1975, the New York Museum of Modern Art presented a retrospective of 20 G.D.R. films, and the Pacific Film Archive in Berkeley, California, sponsored screenings of Soviet, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, G.D.R. and Polish films. In early 1976, the U.S.S.R. requested a number of films from Walt Disney Productions to commemorate the anniversary of Disney's birth. A significant achievement was the completion in June 1976 of the first joint Soviet-American feature motion picture, "Bluebird," which was shot in both countries with Soviet and American actors. Following the completion of "Bluebird," U.S. and Soviet collaborators reached agreement on a second co-production, "Sea-Pup," which was released in 1977.

A particularly active year for U.S.-East European cooperation was 1977. During the first six months of 1977, U.S. film companies signed a number of contracts with East European counterparts. A related event was the visit to Hungary of U.S. cinema expert Henry Bietrose, who lectured on "Documentary Film-Making in the United States" at the College of Dramatic and Cinematographic Arts. Also in 1977, "Nights and Days" from Poland and "Jacob the Liar" from the G.D.R. were nominated for best foreign film in the U.S. Academy Awards competition. In April in East Berlin, the G.D.R. Film Archives presented a week-long retrospective of the work of American film pioneer D.W. Griffith. In July, a delegation of the Motion Picture Association of America, headed by President Jack Valenti, attended the Moscow International Film Festival. MPAA delegations had traveled to the Soviet Union on several occasions prior to the signing of the Final Act as well.

About this same time, exchanges of film historians and experts took place. Soviet directors Chkheidze, Shengelaya, Mikhalkov, Dvigubsky and Konchalovsky visited the Pacific Film Archive, as did Hungarian cinema expert Yvette Biro and Werner Hecht of the Brecht Archive in East Berlin. Furthermore, an exchange of views between Eastern and Western specialists took place at the Federation of International Film Archivists' annual meeting held in Bulgaria. U.S. representatives participated in the meeting's seminar on "The Influence of Silent Soviet Cinema on World Cinema."

In the fall of 1977, a number of Russian and Slavic film series were held in the United States. For instance, Carnegie Hall Cinema in New York, in association with the American Film

Institute, presented a retrospective of 24 Soviet motion pictures to mark the 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The program also traveled to Washington, D.C., Los Angeles and Berkeley, California. In September, the American Film Institute showed eight Bulgarian movies in a series entitled "Bulgaria Today." And, in December 1977, the classic G.D.R. film "Stars" was shown before a large audience at the U.S. National Archives, accompanied by a lecture by Konrad Wolf, the film's writer and director.

During the period December 1977 to June 1978, the New York Museum of Modern Art's Film Department and the Film Society of Lincoln Center jointly sponsored the "New Directors, New Films Series", which featured East European works, including "Foul Play" from Poland and "Interviews on Personal Problems" from the U.S.S.R. In May 1978, a "Week of American Film in the G.D.R.," consisting of contemporary U.S. works, was inaugurated in Leipzig. Later, in October, the Pacific Film Archive and the San Francisco Film Festival jointly sponsored the series "New Films from Eastern Europe" highlighting one motion picture each from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the U.S.S.R. In the period December 1978 to June 1979, New York's Hunter College hosted an international series including the films of Polish director Andrzej Wajda. At the Academy Awards, "The Hungarians", a Hungarian feature film, and "White Bim, Black Ear," a Soviet production, were among the nominees for best foreign picture.

During 1979 and 1980, there was a noticeable increase in the number of U.S.-produced films shown commercially in Bulgaria. This was due in part to a new exchange agreement with American distributors. In late 1979, four Soviet films were presented in New York at the "Bolshoi Ballet Film Festival." In November 1979, six contemporary Soviet motion pictures were shown commercially in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles in celebration of 60 years of Soviet film-making. The series was sponsored by Satra Corporation and International Film Exchange, Ltd., in association with Sovexportfilm. Five Soviet screen stars and specialists participated in the festival.

In March 1980, a festival of Polish feature films, sponsored by the Kosciuszko foundation, a private U.S. cultural and educational organization, was held at New York's Hunter College. Also in the spring of that year, a North American Festival of Polish Film organized by American University in Washington, D.C. brought nine Polish selections to 11 cities in the United States and five cities in Canada. The director of one of the films, Tadeusz Chmielewski, participated in the showings in Washington. Also in 1980, other Polish feature productions were shown in commercial theaters and at the American Film Institute. In September and October, several motion pictures from Poland, Hungary and the U.S.S.R. were screened at the New York Film Festival.

In 1981, the Soviet film "Moscow Doesn't Believe in Tears" won the U.S. Academy Award for best foreign picture. In the best short subject category, the Hungarian film "The Fly" merited an Oscar. That same year, ten U.S. feature films were shown in the G.D.R. In April and May, three Soviet filmmakers from Moscow's Central Studio of Documentary Films visited the United States for ten days in order to shoot a documentary entitled "Alternative."

The next year, 1982, brought an Academy Award to Hungary for "Mephisto," which was judged the best foreign film. Additionally, the American Film Institute announced in September that, with the U.S. Information Agency's assistance, a series of Hungarian pictures would be presented at college campuses and other locations throughout the United States during 1982-83. Also in September 1982, several U.S. films were shown at Prague's annual "Tourfilm" festival. During September and October, a series of films never before commercially released in the United States and produced by studios in Russia, Georgia and Estonia, were cooperatively presented in Washington, D.C. by the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, the American Film Institute, the Smithsonian Resident Associate Program and the Soviet Embassy. Then, in November, again in Washington, a series of recent Soviet movies organized by International Film Exchange, Ltd., in association with Sovexportfilm was shown. The series was later screened in New York. From the fall of 1981 to November 1982, some 40 American feature films were shown in Soviet movie houses.

In May 1983, the U.S. Government sent entries to the Tenth International Film Festival of Environmental Films and TV Programs in Prague. That July, noted American director Alan Pakula traveled to the G.D.R., the U.S.S.R., Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria under U.S. Information Agency auspices. In the fall, the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies and the Soviet Embassy again cooperated in the presentation of a U.S.S.R. film series, screened at the National Air and Space Museum in Washington, D.C. An 18-month seven-city tour of G.D.R. films, cosponsored by the American Film Institute and the U.S. Information Agency, was inaugurated in September at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. In November 1983, there were eight U.S. entries in the Tenth International Scientific Film Festival in Katowice, Poland. Four won festival prizes. Finally, in 1983, the first joint Bulgarian-U.S. production "The Glory of the Khan" was completed in Bulgaria.

Presented in cooperation with the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, six films produced in the U.S.S.R. were shown at the National Air and Space Museum in Washington, D.C. In October and November, 1984, the Baltimore Museum of Art showed four new Soviet films "I Don't Want to Be a Grownup", "Jazzmen", "War-Time Romance" and "The Youth of a Genius." The festival was sponsored by the Baltimore Friends School, honoring Claire Walker, teacher emeritus and the first American to receive the Pushkin Medal for Promotion of Russian Language Study.

## Broadcast Information

### Television

Since the signing of the Final Act, television viewers in most Eastern states have gained broader exposure to Western programs, and there have been noteworthy Eastern television broadcasts about aspects of life in Western countries. The inter-connection of Eurovision (the Geneva-based European Broadcasting Union) and Intervision (the East European network) affords the Eastern countries a means of acquiring film materials for use on their national television programs. Programming available from this source consists mainly of international news, sports and space exploration. Audiences in the G.D.R. and Hungary also can receive television transmissions from neighboring Western states. Western audiences also have had opportunities to view television programs, many of them East-West co-productions, about the East European countries.

Below is a sampling of the more significant developments chiefly involving the United States in the East-West dissemination of broadcast information.

During 1976, the three major commercial U.S. networks, ABC, CBS and NBC, all concluded cooperative agreements with the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting (Gostelradio). The agreements provided for exchanges of sports and entertainment shows and for technical cooperation in the preparation of programs. In June 1977, new ground was broken when NBC acted on a Soviet suggestion and televised a 90-minute debate in the United States between three Soviets and three Americans on the subject of human rights. This program subsequently was broadcast on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) in the United States. Then, in September, former First Lady Betty Ford traveled to Moscow to act as hostess for a co-produced telecast of the Bolshoi Ballet's "Nutcracker." The program was aired in the United States during the 1977 holiday season.

During the first six months of 1978, PBS presented the drama "Ascent of Mount Fuji" by Soviet playwright Genghis Aitmatov. This acclaimed program received extensive publicity. Also in 1978, the joint U.S.-Soviet film production, "The Unknown War," was aired on U.S. commercial television. This 20-part series on the Soviet-German front during World War II ran in Soviet movie theaters in March 1979, and was also shown in the G.D.R. and F.R.G. Significantly, the program utilized footage from Soviet film archives which previously had been inaccessible to the West.

Beginning in July 1979, more than 100 U.S. television stations carried a series of 20 programs from Moscow on the pre-Olympic Spartakiad athletic competition. Also that year, NBC televised a Bolshoi Ballet performance of "Giselle" that had been taped in Moscow and was narrated by Edward Villella, principal dancer of the New York City Ballet. The Public Broadcasting System offered a number of programs in 1979 focusing on such topics as Russian theatre and the Soviet television industry.

In early 1980, a 20-part series was presented on BBC television entitled "Russian - Language and People." According to the London Times, the series was a cooperative effort between BBC and the Gostelradio in preparation for the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow.

Marking a major breakthrough in satellite transmission, in December 1981, U.S. correspondents were able to transmit live coverage of officially sanctioned events from Moscow via Soviet satellite.

In September 1982, the first simulcast, two-way satellite hook-up between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. linked the U.S. Festival in San Bernardino, California with a rock band performance for Soviet youth in Moscow. The event was sponsored privately by Apple Computer and UNUSON Corporation. In May 1983, the U.S. Festival again occasioned a simulcast, featuring Academician Velikov, Vice President of the Soviet Academy of Science, Maurice Mitchell, Chairman of the Board of Encyclopedia Britannica and Director of the Annenberg School of Communications, U.S. Astronaut Rusty Schweiker and Soviet Cosmonaut Vitaly Sevastianov, California Congressman George Brown and Soviet officials. A simultaneous videocast made in July 1983 at the 13th International Film Festival in Moscow was sponsored in part by the Communications Department of the University of California at San Diego. Festival participants addressed the topic "Children and Film."

Space Bridge, Inc. was organized in September 1983 to encourage and facilitate a series of satellite telecommunications events between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. A meeting of experts in U.S.-U.S.S.R. satellite telecommunications was convened by the Institute for Soviet-American Relations (ISAR) and the Esalen Soviet-American Exchange Program in San Francisco in October 1983. Participants included principals in the U.S. Festival, the planners of the Moscow Book Fair Discussion Panel and Space Bridge representatives. Long-term implications and coordination of telecommunications work were discussed and efforts begun to provide negotiating, programming and political guidelines for future activity.

In November 1983, a Conference on the Long-Term Worldwide Biological Consequences of Nuclear War was the subject of a telecast via satellite hook-up. Soviet and U.S. scientists discussed the conference findings and shared research. Also in 1983 for the series "Inside Story", the Public Broadcasting System aired an Emmy Award winning two-part series "Dateline: Moscow" which reviewed U.S. press coverage of the Soviet Union. Anchorman Hodding Carter interviewed former American Moscow correspondents Marvin Kalb, Daniel Schorr, Hedrick Smith and Robert Kaiser; current U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hartman; Soviet historian Roy Medvedev; and others. The program was rebroadcast in September 1984. By agreement with Gostelradio, "Inside Story" will present a subsequent series of satellite dialogues between U.S. and Soviet participants on a range of subjects.

In January 1984, the Swedish documentary film "Behind the Threat" was shown in Scandanavia as part of television coverage of the opening in Stockholm of the CSCE Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE). The program depicted how U.S. and Soviet citizens in two small towns -- Ketchum, Idaho and Zibly, Ukraine -- view one another's countries and perceive the prospects for international peace.

In March 1984, the head of the 24-hour Cable News Network (CNN), Ted Turner, visited Moscow to begin negotiations on a permanent agreement involving the exchange of film clips of news and cultural programs with the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Television and Radio. By August, CNN had agreed to use the Soviet communications satellite system Intersputnik to broadcast segments of the Friendship '84 Games in Moscow. This permanent agreement and the ongoing negotiations conducted by CNN are unprecedented for an American broadcaster.

In a major U.S.-Soviet cooperative effort, in July 1984 NBC began shooting "Peter the Great", a 10-hour mini-series, based on Robert Massie's prize-winning book of the same name. According to executive producer Lawrence Schiller, "Peter" is "the first totally independent American drama ever to film in the Soviet Union." The series will be broadcast during the 1985-86 television season. The international, star-studded cast will include 21 top Soviet actors trained in English.

In April and May 1984, the Public Broadcasting System screened nationwide an hour-long special documentary "The First Fifty Years: Reflections on U.S.-Soviet Relations." In late September, Metromedia dispatched a film crew to travel throughout the Soviet Union for an hour-long program entitled "Inside Russia." Grace Warnecke, daughter of former U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. George Kennan and associate producer of "The First Fifty Years", served as translator and guide for the crew.

From September 8 through 16, 1984, NBC aired an extensive series of television broadcasts from the Soviet Union focusing on U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations and Soviet society entitled "The New Cold War." An accompanying documentary program, "The Real Star Wars", narrated by Marvin Kalb, NBC's chief State Department correspondent, led off the series. NBC Radio carried complementary reports. Negotiations for the ambitious project had begun three months earlier through conversations between Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin and NBC Network News Vice-President Gordon Manning, who subsequently reached an agreement with Gostelradio. Amounting to a total of eight hours and ten minutes broadcasting time and shot in seven

Soviet cities, the series primarily was reported by newsanchor Bryant Gumbel on the "Today" Program and chief foreign correspondent Garrick Utley on "Nightly News." Featured were taped interviews with Georgi Arbatov, head of the U.S.S.R. Institute for the Study of the U.S.A. and Canada, Military Chief of Staff Marshall Sergei Akhromeyev and First Deputy Foreign Minister Georgi Kornienko.

On December 13-14, 1984, under the sponsorship of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Television and Radio and a U.S. peace group called World Beyond War, a simultaneous satellite bridge connected 4,000 people in the Masonic Auditorium in San Francisco with a similar gathering in Moscow. During the event, World Beyond War presented an annual award to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, an organization co-founded by Bernard Lown of Harvard University and Evgeni I. Chazov, U.S.S.R. Deputy Minister of Health. In addition, the program was transmitted to another 3,000 people in 12 other U.S. cities. Public Broadcasting System stations and cable networks carried the event live in a number of regions.

With regard to Eastern Europe, in 1979, Fred Flaxman of the Public Broadcasting System spent a week in Sofia consulting with Bulgarian television authorities on the development of cooperative projects. The same year, PBS aired programs on "Practical Marxism" in Czechoslovakia and on the G.D.R.'s "Splender of Dresden" art exhibit which was then touring the United States. Since 1979, G.D.R. television has made use of non-political programs provided by the U.S. Information Agency. Another positive development took place in 1983, when G.D.R. television was reorganized to give more authority and spending power to managers, permitting greater innovation in programming. This soon led to a 60 percent increase in the number of movies, especially U.S. and West European productions, shown on G.D.R. television.

Traditionally, there has been great demand in Poland for U.S. television programs and films. For example, in March 1977, Polish television began broadcasting the first of 16 half-hour programs produced in collaboration with the Kosciuszko Foundation, a private U.S. cultural and educational organization. From October 1979 through March 1980, Polish television purchased approximately 70 U.S. television programs and feature films. On the U.S. side, in November 1979, the Polish television series "Four Tankers and a Dog" was shown in several cities in the United States. In March 1980, at the request of the Polish Government, the U.S. Government agreed to the establishment in New York of a commercial office of Polish Radio and Television. The office continues to pursue contracts and planning for joint productions and for the purchase and sale of films and television programming.

U.S. serials, feature films and documentaries run regularly on Romanian television. One such program of particular bilateral interest was a one-hour CBS television special featuring Romanian Olympic gymnast Nadia Comaneci. The prime-time special aired in the United States in November 1976 and was broadcast one month later on Romanian television. Romanian and American media experts often travel to each other's country on professional visits. For example, in December 1978, a television specialist from the University of Cincinnati lectured in Bucharest and approximately one year later, the general manager of the Romanian House of Film visited the United States to speak with American colleagues in the television industry. Film clips of his trip later were aired on Romanian television in an international series entitled "Great Civilizations." That the U.S. Information Agency has had some success in placing non-political broadcast material with Romanian media is another example of bilateral cooperation in the field of television.

The Hungarian Government also has permitted the airing of U.S. Information Agency-sponsored programs and is the largest user in Eastern Europe of U.S. serials, feature films and documentaries. Over the years, Hungarian television regularly has broadcast programs dealing with East-West relations, featuring interviews with U.S. officials and uncensored debates between Eastern and Western journalists. An early Hungarian media initiative directly related to CSCE took place in May and June 1976. The Hungarian State Television network broadcast debates between Eastern and Western media representatives on such topics as the Helsinki process, detente and arms control. The following year saw other Hungarian "firsts" in televised coverage of East-West issues when Hungarian television presented a program on the SALT negotiations. Another unprecedented program featured televised interviews with U.S. Administration and Congressional representatives on U.S.-Hungarian bilateral relations.

In 1979 and 1980, joint U.S.-Hungarian projects resulted in the production of 15 programs for prime-time viewing in the United States, one of them a report on bilateral relations. In 1981, a bilateral cooperative effort resulted in a program for Hungarian television featuring the Reagan Administration's position on disarmament, SALT, human rights and other international issues. A similar project in 1982 focused on "America in the 1980s." Also in 1982, Hungary televised separate interviews with Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Mark Palmer, who gave U.S. views on arms control and other foreign policy matters. A CSCE-related highlight that same year was the balanced coverage of the televised debate in Norway between U.S. CSCE Ambassador Max M. Kampelman and the Director of the Soviet Institute for the Study of the U.S.A. and Canada, Georgi Arbatov. Subjects discussed were the Helsinki process, the situation in Poland and Afghanistan and U.S.-Soviet relations. In August 1983, the cooperative project "U.S.-A Year Before the Election" aired in Hungary. Later, in September, the visit of U.S. Vice President George Bush was accorded wide media coverage.

## Radio

Dissemination of information broadcast by radio is encouraged by the Helsinki Final Act, yet interference and jamming of Western radios by the Soviet Union and some of its Eastern neighbors have not only continued but, particularly following the rise of Solidarity in 1980 in Poland, have increased. Alone in this regard among the Eastern signatories, Hungary and Romania have not jammed Western broadcasts for over 20 years.

The aforementioned notwithstanding, the G.D.R. took a forward step on November 23, 1978, the date that the Geneva Agreement on Long and Medium Range Frequency Assignments went into effect, by halting all jamming of the West Berlin station, Radio in the American Sector (RIAS). An illustration of cooperative radio programming was the February 1984 audio hook-up via satellite between Gostelradio in Moscow and KQED-FM in San Francisco, permitting the transmission of a two-way discussion on "Soviet-American Relations: Perceptions and Misperceptions" as part of National Public Radio's weekly international affairs program. On August 5, 1984, the 39th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, a live radio network linked citizens of the United States with citizens of Japan, Britain, the F.R.G., France and the U.S.S.R. Billed as the First Global Town Meeting, the program was conceived and organized by Chuck Alton of U.S. Radio. Other such global town meetings are envisioned for 1985.

## Other Cooperative Efforts in the Field of Information

In conformity with the Helsinki Final Act, the participating states have engaged in a variety of other cooperative efforts in the field of information. Below are some illustrative examples in the areas of publishing, journalism and broadcasting.

In the field of journalism, a notable event was the formation of a club of European journalists, which subsequently received the financial backing of UNESCO. The conception of Jean Schwoebel of Le Monde, the club met in Paris in December 1976 and in Yugoslavia in April 1977 to discuss the information issues raised by the Final Act. Membership consisted of three journalists from each country. The Yugoslav Union of Journalists sponsored another round table meeting in May 1977 which was attended by all club members. At these meetings, Eastern journalists held the view that journalists have a responsibility to further the political aims of their governments and of the Final Act and their Western colleagues took the position that a journalist's responsibility is to report the news and the truth accurately. Other, smaller, round table discussions subsequently held involving journalists included one sponsored by Poland and another by the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies in Berlin.

In June 1977, the New York Times Corporation and the Soviet news agency TASS signed an agreement to promote the exchange of news. The first exchange visits between Soviet and American editors in 20 years occurred in the summer of 1979. Other cooperative activities reflecting private sector interest in the improvement of international understanding through the exchange of information have been undertaken by the New England Society of Newspaper Editors (NESNE), which sponsors meetings of American and Soviet editors. NESNE inaugurated its program of contacts in August and September 1982 at a meeting at Colby-Sawyer College in New Hampshire attended by representatives of TASS, Pravda and other Soviet news organs. At a second exchange held in Leningrad and Moscow in the summer of 1983, participants laid the groundwork for three ongoing journalistic projects: an exchange of columns between the Soviet Novosti Press Agency and NESNE-member newspapers; an exchange of journalism students between Boston University and Leningrad State University; and an exchange of young, working journalists from NESNE and Soviet newspapers.

From February 1-12, 1984, Moscow and U.S.-based Soviet journalists traveled to California for meetings with representatives of the Committee of California Print and Broadcast Journalists. The meeting allowed for frank discussion of their fundamentally differing concepts of the role and responsibility of the press. The California Committee and the U.S.S.R. State Committee for TV and Radio subsequently issued a cooperatively prepared 20-page report on "Soviet-American Media Exchange."

From August 20-26, 1984, NESNE hosted a second conference with seven Soviet colleagues, this time at Brown University in Rhode Island. A second conference in the U.S.S.R. is scheduled for the summer of 1985. Two of the U.S. delegates to that conference will remain in the Soviet Union for three to six months on assignment as working reporters to Soviet newspapers. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), following the lead of NESNE, began a similar exchange in 1984. Eleven delegates from the U.S.S.R. Union of Journalists led by Genrikh Borovik, editor of Teatr Magazine, came to the United States in June and July. Their schedule included interviews with members of the U.S. Administration and Congress, visits to the Washington Post, the New York Times, CBS, NBC and a conference with American editors at Princeton. In return, a 13-member U.S. delegation led by ASNE President Richard D. Smyser traveled to Moscow from August 27-September 6 at the invitation of the U.S.S.R. Union of Journalists. ASNE participants met with journalists from Pravda, Izvestia, Tass and Novosti, officials of the U.S.A. and Canada Institute and Gostelradio. They also spoke with deputies of the Supreme Soviet, scientists, writers, workers, as well as leaders of the Ukrainian Union of Journalists.

Cooperative efforts in radio broadcast journalism have included a two-month study tour beginning in February 1977 of American broadcasting and television facilities by radio specialists from 16 countries, including Poland, the U.S.S.R. and Hungary. The trip was sponsored by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and was administered by Syracuse University of New York. The program was designed to provide leading programmers, production managers, news directors, foreign affairs analysts, special events experts, editors, writers and announcers with opportunities to observe and discuss developments in the radio field with their U.S. colleagues and to promote a worldwide exchange of information and ideas in the broadcasting profession. The participants attended the annual National Association of Broadcasters Convention in Washington, D.C. That same year, as an International Visitor Program participant, television journalist Eva Starodomskaya became the first Soviet to attend an annual international meeting sponsored by American Women in Radio and Television. And, in 1983, while in Romania on assignment, two Vienna-based Voice of America correspondents met with official media representatives.

## Working Conditions for Journalists

Under the Helsinki Final Act, the participating states expressed their intention to improve working conditions for foreign journalists by a number of means, such as easing entry visa requirements and internal travel controls, permitting greater access to sources and facilitating the transmission abroad of journalistic products. Over the years, Western journalists in Eastern countries have cited relevant Helsinki provisions when attempting to secure and to exercise their professional rights; journalists also have had occasion to invoke the Final Act when protesting the violation of their rights by Eastern governments.

Perhaps the most significant development after Helsinki in improving working conditions for U.S. correspondents residing in the Soviet Union was the bilateral exchange of notes on September 29, 1975 providing for the reciprocal issuance to journalists of multiple entry and exit visas, which had long been sought by Western correspondents permanently accredited in the U.S.S.R. The preambular language of the note initialed by an official of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs reads, in part, "taking into account the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe." Similar agreements were reached by the Soviet Union with the other Western countries. According to U.S. journalists, the agreement on multiple visas had an important psychological impact on correspondents and their families. It reduced their sense of isolation from the outside world by reassuring them that it would be possible to leave the Soviet Union or return to it quickly in the event of a professional or personal emergency. Later, bilateral visa agreements were also reached with Czechoslovakia and Poland. U.S. journalists report no entry and travel problems with Bulgaria, Hungary or Romania. In March 1976, the U.S.S.R. modified travel restrictions for newspeople, requiring them to notify the Foreign Ministry of proposed travel within the country, rather than to ask permission for it, thus bringing the rules for journalists' travel into line with those pertaining to Western diplomats. The United States responded with a reciprocal move for Soviet journalists here. In 1979, the Soviet Foreign Ministry arranged a trip for foreign journalists to Siberia and other areas formerly closed to foreign visitors.

With regard to easing journalists' access to official sources and to facilitating the transmission of news, in 1976, the Soviet Union began to allow foreign journalists to request interviews with government officials directly instead of requiring them to make arrangements through the Foreign Ministry. In 1976, a United Press International correspondent was allowed to open an office in Leningrad in reciprocity for the opening of a TASS office in San Francisco (UPI's Leningrad bureau was closed in 1978, but the TASS office is still in operation). Furthermore, the U.S.S.R. announced that it would no longer require foreign journalists to obtain official permission before sending films and tape recordings abroad. The United States reciprocated. In 1978, the Soviet Union began to permit pool coverage, i.e. journalists now may cover events on behalf of colleagues who for reasons of policy or lack of adequate space are unable to attend.

Press centers for foreign journalists operate in the Soviet Union and in all East European signatory states. For the papal visit in June 1983, Polish authorities provided facilities for nearly 2,000 foreign newsmen. The Hungarian press center, Pressinform, exerted special efforts to aid foreign journalists covering U.S. Vice President George Bush's trip to Budapest in September 1983. Since June 1984, the Soviet Foreign Ministry has held regular briefings for the foreign press.

# CHAPTER XI

# BASKET III: CULTURAL COOPERATION AND EXCHANGES

## Introduction

The Helsinki signatories recognized that exchanges and cooperation in the field of culture "contribute to a better comprehension among people and among peoples, and thus promote a lasting understanding among states." They, therefore, agreed in Basket III to expand and improve cultural cooperation, to facilitate exchanges and to promote the dissemination of cultural materials. The Final Act helped to advance U.S. cultural cooperation and exchanges with East European countries in two ways. On the governmental level, the Final Act paved the way for cooperation with those East European governments who were previously unwilling to allow private exchanges with the West before a general bilateral agreement had been reached. Secondly, on the private sector level, the Final Act encouraged Western organizations and individuals to engage in cooperative ventures and exchanges with the East. Although many exchanges with Eastern Europe began in the late 1950s, the Final Act reaffirmed the signatory states' commitments to cultural exchanges. Moreover, the Final Act provided a new impetus for the expansion of these activities, particularly with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary, whose relations with the United States in this field had been severely limited. Essentially, the Final Act encouraged governments to engage in exchange and it provided the political sanction to private groups already involved in cooperative exchange programs to continue or expand their activities.

Similarly, the Helsinki Final Act clearly gave further impetus for West European signatories to strengthen cultural contacts, successfully negotiate agreements for cultural cooperation and nurture an increased interest in cultural exchanges among East and West. Indeed, as early as 1977, the British Government reported that "interest in promoting wider contacts had already grown considerably," a reflection that underscores the positive European experience in the East-West cultural dialogue that the Helsinki Final Act helped to foster. Among the CSCE signatories, several governments provided additional funding for programs and exchanges in writing, theatrical productions, visual arts, performing arts, restoration of cultural property and for cultural centers.

## Exchange Agreements

### The U.S. Experience

In the realm of U.S.-East European cultural cooperation and exchanges, the major developments since the signing of the Final Act are the completion of bilateral "umbrella" agreements with Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. These agreements provide the guidelines for official exchanges and for officially-sanctioned private exchanges. They also serve as a prerequisite for future privately-negotiated agreements among various cultural and professional institutions. Significantly, each of the official bilateral exchange agreements carries a reference to the Final Act, and the chief U.S. negotiators of such agreements -- officials of the United States Information Agency (USIA) and the State Department -- have found it useful to refer to the Basket III provisions of the Final Act during bilateral negotiations to renew those agreements.

Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria were reluctant to broaden cultural exchanges with the United States until 1975, when the Helsinki Final Act was signed. Since 1975, the United States has successfully negotiated agreements with Hungary and Bulgaria, and renewed an agreement with Romania first concluded on December 13, 1974, during the initial CSCE negotiations. These bilateral agreements have ensured "common grounds" for improving communications between East and West.

Signed on June 13, 1977 and renewed every two years since, the U.S.-Bulgarian agreement opened the door to a comprehensive, but modest program of exchanges. The agreement itself reaffirmed the U.S. and Bulgarian desire," in the interests of their peoples, to contribute to peace, security, justice and cooperation in Europe, as expressed in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe."

The preamble to the U.S.-Hungarian agreement, signed on April 6, 1977, also stated "the interest of their peoples, to contribute in Europe to peace, security, justice and cooperation, as expressed in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe." According to USIA officials, this agreement, which was the first negotiated in the wake of Helsinki, has also been renewed every two years, and has been responsible for a more comprehensive program of bilateral exchanges.

Negotiations with Czechoslovakia for an exchange agreement began soon after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Although never formally concluded, these official negotiations have recently been renewed. According to State Department officials, U.S.-Czechoslovak cultural relations have improved somewhat in the past year.

As the United States did not have diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic until 1974, cultural relations had been practically nonexistent prior to that year. Since the mid-1970s, however, in which the successful completion of the Helsinki Final Act occurred, cultural relations have slowly improved. The U.S. Government has had some success in placing U.S. cultural offerings in the G.D.R., including a highly successful art exhibit, "The American Impressionists," several performing arts groups, and U.S. cultural specialists.

According to State Department officials, the Final Act was a positive factor in the establishment of cultural relations with the G.D.R. In 1976, the U.S. proposed that a bilateral exchange program be developed, and East German officials responded favorably. Although no formal agreement has been signed, the improved diplomatic relations have led to the development of exchanges with the G.D.R.

U.S. relations with Poland have been historically more open and friendly than with other East European countries, due to a large population of Polish-Americans that have consistently supported an active exchange program with Poland. While no official bilateral agreement exists, in actuality, an agreement with Poland to regulate exchanges in the fields of culture and technology might restrict rather than foster exchanges. Therefore, cultural relations do continue, despite the lack of official consensus. According to State Department officials, the Helsinki Final Act created a general atmosphere conducive to cultural exchanges with Poland. In the immediate aftermath of the Final Act, private and scientific exchanges with the United States increased. Although the government's permissiveness in Polish cultural freedoms were revoked during martial law, private bilateral exchanges with the United States continue to take place.

In Bucharest, U.S. officials signed an agreement with Romania on December 13, 1974, abetted by the progress of the initial CSCE negotiations. Renewed twice again in December 1979 and December 1983, the signatories reaffirmed their commitment to act in "the spirit of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe." The improved cultural relations between Romania and the U.S. are rooted in the general thaw in bilateral relations in the early 1970s. According to USIA officials, "certainly the atmosphere in the post-Helsinki period was more conducive to improved contacts and easier access."

The Helsinki Final Act enabled Soviet cultural authorities to act with a greater measure of autonomy in establishing contacts and promoting exchanges on a larger scale in the mid- and late 1970s. The program of exchanges between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. was first formally negotiated in 1958, and was renewed most recently on October 22, 1976 to cover the period from January 1, 1977 to December 31, 1979. The protocol of the renewed agreement set forth the terms of exchanges, and referred "to the provisions and objectives set forth in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe." The Helsinki Agreement thus appears to have enhanced cultural relations with the Soviet Union in the period from 1975 through 1979. These improved official relations with the Soviet Union in the cultural field inspired direct negotiations for private exchanges.

In the wake of events in Afghanistan and Poland, the American-Soviet exchange agreement, scheduled to be renewed in 1980, expired, thus precluding all other officially-sponsored exchanges. However, a new generation of cultural exchanges began to flourish in the private sector. Negotiations on a new Soviet-American agreement on cultural, educational, scientific and technical contacts, exchanges and cooperation began on August 8, 1984. In addition, private organizations such as the Citizen Exchange Council, Sister Cities International and the American Bar Association, whose contacts with their institutional counterparts in the Soviet Union were facilitated by the Final Act, have been able to successfully expand existing exchange programs.

The first delegation of American lawyers and their spouses from the Joint Committee on International Legal Exchange (ILEX) of the American Bar Association (ABA) traveled to Moscow and Leningrad for discussions on foreign trade and technology transfer with the Association of Soviet Lawyers (ASL) in 1973. In mid-1975, an ABA delegation traveled to the Soviet Union and, from December 2-12, 1975, a delegation from the ASL visited the United States. This initial exchange, according to former ILEX director Kathrine Lee Ebert, established direct, if tentative, contact between American and Soviet lawyers and legal systems and convinced the Soviets to proceed with additional exchanges. Based upon the success of these reciprocal exchanges, in 1976, the two legal associations prepared an ambitious "Seminar Series," which included plans for seminars and lecture tours. On October 18, 1977, a delegation of Soviet legal experts participated in the first "Seminar Series" in Washington, D.C. On April 20, 1978, a discussion of "Current Issues in the Administration of Justice in the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. " was held in the U.S. Supreme Court building. More recently, the ABA hosted a delegation of 15 lawyers from the ASL in September 1983, who traveled to the ABA headquarters in Chicago and discussed the role of the legal profession in their respective countries. Based upon the success of this meeting, the ASL then invited the ABA to return to the Soviet Union. In May 1984, five ABA executive officers traveled to the U.S.S.R. and met with top Soviet legal and political officials.

These ongoing meetings of the two legal organizations have resulted in an established working relationship on an institution-to-institution level. During a 1979 ABA delegation visit to the Soviet Union led by former Attorney General and Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Meeting Griffin Bell, both groups called for an increase in exchanges. Plans are currently underway to formalize this institutional relationship with an exchange agreement, the terms of which have been substantially agreed. According to Executive Director of the ABA, Thomas Gonzer, the ASL referred to the Helsinki Agreement several times during the most recent discussions.

According to Citizen Exchange Council's (CEC) Executive Director Michael Brainerd, conditions for exchange programs with the Soviet Union have improved steadily over the past few years. The majority of CEC programs are educationally oriented; more than 40 percent involve secondary schools and universities. Thirty-five percent of CEC programs encompass professional and cultural contacts between the U.S. and the East. The remainder of the programs are dedicated to vocational exchanges and to peace concerns. In 1982 and 1983, CEC groups visited 32 cities in the Soviet Union.

Although CEC has been in existence since 1962, their programs have dramatically increased since the signing of the Final Act. In the academic year 1975-1976, CEC nearly doubled the number of its programs over the previous year and more than doubled again in 1976-1977 by hosting 23 programs. The number of exchange programs has steadily increased since then. Concurrently, participation in these exchanges rose from 137 participants in 1974-1975, to 275 in 1975-1976, and reached a high point of 729 participants from 1977-1978. The most recent CEC figures indicate that there were 730 paticipants in the various programs for the academic year 1982-1983. Figures for 1983-1984 estimate that as many as 850 scholars participated in the year's programs.

The Sister Cities International exchange programs with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are a vehicle through which American cities can exchange information, ideas and people in the fields of education, government, culture, economics and sociology. A non-profit, non-governmental organization founded in 1956, Sister Cities International encourages U.S. cities to "twin" with cities in Eastern Europe. Since the majority of sister cities formed in the mid-1970s, these cooperative exchanges were continued under the improved political relations that the Helsinki Final Act symbolized. In 1983, an American delegation of Sister Cities International invited Soviet leaders from the "Association for Relations between Soviet and Foreign Cities" to attend the annual Sister Cities International conference in the U.S. For the first time in nearly a decade, five Soviet representatives attended this meeting. There they signed another agreement to encourage existing affiliations and locate new sister cities.

Various American cities and their Soviet sister cities jointly sponsor a number of programs. The first sister city affiliation in Eastern Europe was formed between Seattle and the Central Asian city of Tashkent on January 22, 1973 and an active, cooperative relationship has been maintained ever since. The Seattle Sister City council conducts monthly meetings and periodically sponsors festivals that feature art and food from Tashkent. Houston's affiliation with Baku, an oil-producing city in the southern Soviet Republic of Azerbaidzhan, was inaugurated by the signing of a formal agreement in the spring of 1975, and included participation in joint oil-related projects until 1979. First formed in July

1975, the Jacksonville-Murmansk sister city affiliation enabled two Soviet delegations to visit Jacksonville, Florida in 1976 and again in 1978. On September 18, 1975, Mayor Vladimir Shurko of the Ukrainian city of Odessa and Baltimore Mayor William Donald Schaefer signed a agreement in Baltimore to declare the port cities of Odessa and Baltimore sister cities. The Odessa-Baltimore sister city association participated in cooperative exchanges from 1975 to 1979. In 1976, Oakland, California and the far East Siberian city of Nakhodka became sister cities.

In December 1975, Bay City, Michigan signed an agreement with Poznan, Poland. The relationship lasted until March 1983. Philadelphia and Torun, Poland signed an agreement to create a sister city affiliation in May 1976. In May 1977, the mayor of Torun visited Philadelphia. Although activities ceased after the mid-1970s, current plans are underway to revive this sister city relationship.

Furthermore, six American cities are now preparing to establish formal affiliation with Soviet counterparts. In the last year, for example, Worcester, Massachusetts and Boulder, Colorado have organized events such as poetry readings, symphonic renderings of Russian music, and films about the Soviet Union in an effort to encourage and generate interest in cultural awareness.

## The European Experience

In light of the fact that the Soviet Union and other East European signatories place such importance on formal agreements to outline plans for specific cultural exchanges and ensure official financial support for programs, the ability to successfully negotiate bilateral agreements in this field are the most outstanding accomplishments in the furtherance of cultural cooperation. Numerous West European governments have signed exchange agreements with East European signatories since the signing of the Final Act. European officials have noted the importance of such bilateral agreements as vehicles to expand existing exchanges, initiate new exchanges, and intensify and foster private as well as official cooperation. Many bilateral agreements make specific reference to the Final Act.

Since 1975, the Austrian Government has successfully concluded agreements with Czechoslovakia, the G.D.R. and Hungary. Austria's cultural exchange agreements have been in force with Czechoslovakia since December 9, 1978; with the German Democratic Republic since July 7, 1979; and with Hungary since November 13, 1977.

Among official visits that followed the Austrian-Hungarian agreement, in the winter of 1980, Hungarian Cultural Minister Imre Pozsgay visited Austria, where he contacted private Austrian publishing firms to inquire about the possibilities of publishing in translation the works of Hungarian novelists and scientists. In addition, at the end of a three-day visit to Budapest on July 17, 1982, the Austrian Minister of Culture reached "substantial agreement" with Hungarian cultural officials on projected cultural exchanges, including an exhibition in Schallaburg, Austria entitled "Cornvinus," that was presented in Budapest in 1983.

According to Zycie Warszawy in June 1980, under a 1972 cultural agreement signed by Poland and Austria, a myriad of cultural exchanges have occurred. The first concrete result of the Austrian-Polish agreement was the creation of institutions for the reciprocal dissemination of information about Polish and Austrian cultures. Since then, Poland has presented 244 cultural exhibitions in Austria, with 81 Austrian exhibitions in Poland, and Polish theater ensembles have performed 23 times in Austria. Also, Polish stage directors have collaborated with Austrian theaters on dramatic productions in Vienna.

In June 1981, during the official visit of Romanian President Nicolai Ceausescu to Austria, both countries signed a protocol to permit exchanges of experts and scholars in the fields of education, film, music, journalism, architecture, health services, the environment, and the preservation of national heritage, and discussed cooperation in preparing a joint Austrian-Romanian publication. Examples of ongoing Austrian contacts with Romania also include an Austrian-Romanian Friendship Association.

For the years 1980 and 1981, Belgium and Romania agreed to promote exchanges in education, science and culture. Their agreement called for strengthening cooperation among academies, universities, scientific organizations, and other cultural and artistic institutions.

By early 1978, the British Government had taken a number of initiatives in light of Basket III recommendations, among them the provision of additional funds to increase the number and range of cultural, youth and other exchanges with the Soviet Union and other East European signatories. One of the most useful post-Helsinki innovations has been the establishment of a Visiting Arts Unit on the combined initiative of the Foreign and Commonwealth Offices, the British Council, the Arts Council and the Gulbenkian Foundation. The Visiting Arts Unit's aim is to provide information and guidance to East European organizations on the opportunities available for placing exhibitions, plays, dance groups and other cultural activities in suitable galleries, halls and theaters in the United Kingdom. Also, the Royal Society, the British Academy, the Great Britain-U.S.S.R. Association, and the Great Britain-East European Center have all extended their activities in Eastern Europe with extra government funds.

On May 22, 1979 at Moscow's Friendship House, the president of the Soviet Writer's Union and the president of the U.S.S.R.-Great Britain Friendship Society signed a plan for cooperation. This protocol permitted exchanges of specialists to study theatre and culture and an exchange of exhibitions including an exhibit of photographs entitled "Great Britain Today," and the Soviet exhibit "International Year of the Child." The agreement also stipulated that Great Britain would receive 21 leading Soviet newspapers and journals and the U.S.S.R. would receive 17 newspapers and magazines from the U.K.

Moreover, on March 23, 1981, British Ambassador Sir Curtis Kreble and Soviet cultural authorities signed a two-year protocol to an existing bilateral agreement, which enabled an exchange of orchestral and theatrical company tours, and 160 British students and 20 teachers to travel each year to the Soviet Union.

After the signing of the Final Act, the Federal Republic of Germany successfully concluded agreements on cultural cooperation with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. The F.R.G.-Hungarian exchange agreement was signed on July 6, 1977 and entered into force on April 19, 1978. On the occasion of Czechoslovak President Husak's visit to the F.R.G. in 1976, both countries issued a joint declaration for an agreement on cultural cooperation; such an agreement entered into force on December 9, 1978. In addition, former F.R.G. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt issued a communique in Bulgaria on May 4, 1979 after a three-day visit, whereupon Bulgarian President Zhivkov agreed to coordinate a German Cultural Week in Bulgaria for 1980 and signed protocols with West German officials on cultural cooperation for the following two years.

First outlined in March 1976, negotiations between the F.R.G. and Poland led to the signing of an agreement on June 11, 1976 during a visit of Poland's former First Secretary Edward Gierek. That year, F.R.G. officials declared that, "bearing in mind the recommendations of the Final Act, we are constantly intensifying our cooperation in the fields of culture, and education, and contacts among social groups, in such fields as sports, and young groups with Poland." The F.R.G.-Polish agreement entered into force on October 25, 1977 and permitted an ongoing exchange of specialists.

On March 10, 1980, the F.R.G. and the U.S.S.R. signed a cultural exchange program for 1980. The program enabled a German exhibition entitled "A Glance in the Federal Republic of Germany" to appear in Alma Ata in Soviet Kazakhstan and in Tashkent in Soviet Uzbekistan. In June 1981, during a working visit to the F.R.G., the official cultural body for artists in the Soviet Union, the Artists' Union, agreed to work in closer cooperation with the West German Federal Union of Fine Artists.

The Finnish Government has taken steps, since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, to intensify the cultural agreements already in force and to diversify the contents of the protocols. According to Finnish officials, Finnish cultural cooperation expanded considerably in the 1970s, particularly with CSCE European signatories. By 1983, Finland had either concluded cultural agreements, embarked upon regular cultural exchange programs, or had established bilateral cultural funds with 32 countries -- 23 of them in Europe. Finland has maintained cultural agreements with Hungary since 1959; with the Soviet Union since 1960; with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland since 1973; with Romania since 1974; and, after the signing of the Final Act in 1976, Finland concluded an agreement with the German Democratic Republic.

On June 16, 1980, the French Ambassador to the G.D.R. and the G.D.R. Foreign Minister signed an agreement on information, educational, and cultural exchanges in East Berlin. The agreement outlined forms of French-G.D.R. cooperation including the exchange of professors and teachers at schools of higher learning, the exchange of publications and trips for school classes, and the opening of a cultural center.

From September 15-19, 1980, a cultural delegation from Bulgaria, led by the Minister of Culture, met with the Greek President and Prime Minister and the Minister of Culture and Science. This event contributed to an important extension and deepening of cultural relations between the two countries.

In August 1980, the Minister of Labour, Culture and Social Care of Malta met with the Bulgarian Chairman of the Committee For Culture and signed an agreement, as reported in the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency, to "promote the development of cooperation in the sphere of culture, education, science, sport, tourism, and all-round development of relations between Bulgaria and Malta in the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki."

In April 1979, the Dutch Minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Welfare discussed aspects of developing cultural cooperation between the Netherlands and Romania with the Romanian Chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education. In an interview with Lumea in May 1979, the Dutch Minister stated that Dutch-Romanian exchanges were "ever more numerous and the collaboration had gained in scope."

In 1981 in Moscow, the Netherlands and the Soviet Union signed a protocol for two years of cultural and scientific cooperation. According to officials of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the agreement formed a "broad perspective" for Dutch-Soviet cooperation in the "spirit of Helsinki."

On September 10, 1980 in Ankara, Turkish and Soviet officials signed a cultural and scientific exchange program for 1981 that enabled a "broad exchange of delegations and specialists in culture, art, science, education, press and sport." The program, according to the Soviet press agency TASS, contributed to better cultural and scientific cooperation.

## Exchanges Among Creative Writers

### The U.S. Experience

Not only did the Helsinki Final Act facilitate the circulation of publications as discussed in Chapter X, it also encouraged contacts among writers and publishers. In 1977, the first U.S.-U.S.S.R. Writers Conference convened in the Soviet Union. Since then, five similar meetings have been held. The sixth annual Soviet and American writers conference, held from March 16-17, 1984 at Pepperdine University in Los Angeles ended with a joint statement urging both governments to encourage greater cultural exchanges as one way to help reduce the possibility of nuclear war. According to the American editor and writer Norman Cousins, an active participant in the conferences since their inception, an important aspect of these exchanges among writers is that they do continue despite deteriorating East-West relations. These ongoing conferences maintain channels of communication in difficult times and enable Soviet writers to exchange ideas and information with American writers and ordinary citizens, establishing, in the words of Cousins, a "window to the world."

Three American universities were most active in the post-Helsinki period in encouraging contacts among writers from East and West -- the University of Iowa, the University of Kansas and Oberlin College in Ohio. Founded in 1967, the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa sponsors residency in Iowa City for creative writers in an effort to promote the international exchange of cultural values and literary experience. The program for an exchange of writers from East European nations was inaugurated in the fall of 1976. The first Bulgarian writer participated in the academic year 1975-1976. The first East German participant arrived for the academic year 1978-1979, when a total of five writers from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania enrolled in the four-month program.

In October 1975, Soviet writer Evgenii Vinokurov lectured at the University of Kansas, inaugurating the "Soviet Writers-In-Residence Program," the result of an agreement negotiated between the University of Kansas and Aleksandr Korsorukov, Director of the Foreign Commission of the Soviet Writers Union. Two Soviet writers have participated annually in this program by teaching a mini-course and giving a series of lectures at the university in Lawrence, Kansas. According to Professor Gerald Mikkeslon, Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature at the University of Kansas, the program ran smoothly from 1975 to 1979. Soviet writers Vitalii Korotich, Yuri Trifonov and Feliks Kuznetsov participated and, in the fall of 1978, playwright Viktor Rozov consulted and helped stage a highly successful English premiere of his work "From Evening Till Mid-Day." Following the participation of Bulat Okudchaza and Vladimir Soloukhin in 1979, the program lapsed. However, negotiations were underway to enable a Soviet writer to participate in the program during the fall of 1984.

First formally established in 1974 and now discontinued, the Oberlin College visiting writers-in-residence program included several East European writers. Two East German writers, Christa Wolf and Jureck Becker, participated in the program in 1976 and 1977, respectively. In 1979, Miroslav Holub, a world-renowned poet from Czechoslovakia took part in the program.

Other exchanges of or contacts among writers have taken place on an individual basis. At the invitation of USIA, a four-person delegation of Soviet writers, headed by novelist Fedor Abramov, visited the United States in 1977. Participating in lecture tours of the United States in 1979 were the poets Andrei Voznesensky and Yevgeny Yevtushenko, and the head of the G.D.R. Writers Union, Herman Kant. Soviet novelist Yuri Nagibin spent 60 days in 1979 lecturing at U.S. universities, and Soviet author Valentin Katayev lectured in California for two weeks in January 1980.

## The European Experience

Exchanges among American creative writers and their East European colleagues occur mainly at the university level, involving lectures, seminars and the sponsorship of writers-in-residence programs. International festivals, poetry readings and competitions are characteristic of European cooperation in this field. Even though many exchanges predate the Helsinki Final Act, these international events give European writers an opportunity to benefit from a wider exposure to the literary traditions and innovations of other European countries, East and West.

One important avenue for the exchange of ideas among poets is the Poetry International, traditionally held in Rotterdam, Netherlands. Gunters Kunert, a G.D.R. writer, poet, and engraver, attended the 1979 Poetry International. Romanian poet Marin Sorescu also read selections of his works for this festival. At the 1981 Poetry International, G.D.R. writer Eric Arendt delivered a reading of his poetry.

A number of East German authors, including Adolf Endler, Martin Strade, Karl Heinz Jakobs and Fritz Rudolf Fries, attended the Ingeborg Bachmann Competition in Klagenfurt, Austria from June 28 to July 1, 1980.

On October 10, 1980 in Darmstadt, F.R.G., the Darmstadt Academy for Prose and Poetry awarded its 1980 George Buchner Prize to G.D.R. author Christina Wolf for her outstanding literary contributions.

In May 1981, writers from East and West Europe, including Jean Charles Lombard from France, Maria Banus from Romania, Ingeborg Kaiser from Switzerland, Jaro Dolar from Yugoslavia, Lev Detela from Austria, Juri Koch from East Germany, and Hans Peter Keller and Klaus Colberg from West Germany, gathered in Fresach, Hungary where they explored topics such as the writer's relationship to society.

From June 21-28, 1981, seven scholars from the Gorki Institute of World Literature of the Soviet Academy of Sciences participated in a symposium on the principles of literary history at the University of Gottingen, F.R.G., along with West German, Austrian, and Swiss scholars of the Slavic and German languages.

In August 1981, delegations from Spain and Portugal participated in a three-day International Congress on Inter-American Literature at the University of Budapest. The Congress, devoted to Latin American literature, was the first of its kind to be held in Budapest. The Hungarian Minister of Culture delivered the opening address to this symposium.

On September 5, 1981 in Darmstadt, F.R.G., the German-Polish Institute awarded its first Robert Bosch Prize for Polish translations of German literature to Slowomir Blaut of Warsaw. Blaut's translations of Ingeborg Bachmann, Gunter Grass, Peter Handke, Peter Hartling, and Siegfried Lenz received special praise.

In December 1981, 15 poets, including Soviet writer Andrei Voznesensky participated in a three-day poetry festival at the Young Vic Theater in London.

In Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, an agreement signed by the Writers Unions of Yugoslavia and the G.D.R. in April 1982, facilitated mutual exchanges of authors during literary events and exhibitions such as the Days of Poetry in Sarajevo, the International Meeting of Writers in Belgrade, and the Congress of the International Assocation of Literary Critics in East Germany.

From May 21-23, 1982, some 28 authors from West and East Germany, Austria and Switzerland, attended the Fourth Solothurn Days of Literature in Switzerland.

The first "Bielefeld Colloquium," a meeting of German language poets and their critics, assembled during May 13-16, 1982 at the Goethe Institute in Athens. Over 40 poets, including two from Czechoslovakia, participated in this event.

From May 24-26, 1982, 65 writers from 19 countries traveled to The Hague and participated in The Hague Conference on "the pursuance of peace initiatives by European authors," as a follow-up to a meeting held in East Berlin in December 1981.

Representatives from 48 countries attended a week-long International Literature Days in Cologne, F.R.G., dubbed "Interlit '82." Two hundred twenty-five writers discussed such issues as peace and disarmament and the subject of imprisoned writers. Many prominent authors from the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Poland, the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. participated in this major literary event.

## Theater Exchanges

### The U.S. Experience

The Helsinki Agreements exerted a tangible, positive influence on theater exchanges between the United States and Eastern Europe. Before 1975, the Soviets produced a large number of American plays in the U.S.S.R., while there was a virtual absence of Soviet plays on U.S. stages. This imbalance was partially due to the limited contacts between the theaters of the two countries. After 1975, several U.S. representatives proposed an exchange of theater directors who would attend theater productions, meet with directors and actors, and decide which plays might be produced in their countries. These contacts among prominent theater specialists in East and West resulted in increased exchanges of information, cooperation in theatrical direction and production, and an expansion of the exchange of contemporary plays. Each of these improvements in East-West theater exchanges occurred against the backdrop of the Helsinki Final Act.

The event that catalyzed this ongoing exchange of theater specialists from East and West occurred in the spring of 1976, when the American Conservatory Theater (ACT) of San Francisco traveled to the Soviet Union under the sponsorship of the U.S. State Department. The ACT performed 22 performances in three cities, and procured a contemporary Soviet play for its American debut, Mikail Roshchin's "Valentin and Valentina." This visit marked the first theater exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union. Concurrently, from January 7-28, 1976, the United States was represented in Prague through an exhibition entitled, "Contemporary Stage Design--USA" of 53 scene and costume designers, sponsored jointly by the State Department and the U.S. chapter of the International Theater Institute (ITI/US). The same exhibit commenced a two-year tour across American museums on March 1976, through the Smithsonian Institute Traveling Exhibition Service (SITES). Also in 1976, the Arena Stage of Washington, D.C. produced "Catsplay," by contemporary Hungarian playwright Istvan Orkeny.

In March 1977, Soviet playwright Mikhail Roshchin and theater director Oleg Yefremov spent two weeks in San Francisco to assist in the production of Roshchin's "Valentin and Valentina," at the American Conservatory Theater. In May 1977, seven American regional theater directors of the International Theater Institute traveled to the Soviet Union, where they attended contemporary plays and established contacts with Soviet theater directors, the Soviet Copyright Agency VAAP, and the Soviet Ministry of Culture. As an immediate result of that visit, Soviet director Gallina Volchek was invited to direct "Echelon," another play by Mikail Roshchin, at Houston's Alley Theater, which premiered on January 25, 1978. Roshchin was allowed to travel to the United States to view the opening of this contemporary Soviet drama. Also resulting from the ITI visit, Anatoli Efros, director of the U.S.S.R.'s Tanganka Theater, directed Gogol's "The Marriage" at Minneapolis' Guthrie theater.

In the years 1977 and 1978, internationally renowned Romanian director Liviu Ciulei directed "The Lower Depths" and "Hamlet" for the Arena Stage in Washington, D.C., Wedekind's "Spring Awakening" for the Public Theater in New York, and Gogol's "The Inspector," at New York's Circle in the Square Theater. In 1978, Ciulei was appointed to a six-person directorate of Lincoln Center's Vivian Beaumont Theater.

In October 1978, the first official Soviet theater delegation to travel to the United States visited seven cities and participated in seminars in New York City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Eight Soviet theater specialists participated in this event; these were the first U.S.-Soviet bilateral seminars on theater arts ever conducted.

In June 1979, the Bulandra Theater Company of Bucharest commenced its first American tour at the Yale University Theater with two plays, "The Lost Letter," by Romanian playwright Luca Caragiale, and "Elizabeth I." Both productions were performed in Romanian and directed by Liviu Ciulei. That same month, Lloyd Richards, dean of the Yale School of Drama and artistic director of the Yale Repertory Theater, went to Bulgaria as a member of the American delegation to the 18th Congress of the ITI. In Sofia, Richards saw director Mladen Kiselov's production of Yordan Radichkov's "An Attempt at Flying" and arranged for the play to be shown in the U.S. "An Attempt at Flying" premiered in New Haven, on May 3, 1981 and was directed by Kiselov.

Also in June 1979, a contemporary Soviet play "Strider," based on a Tolstoy story, was produced by an off-Broadway theater; after a successful five-month run, it opened on Broadway in November 1979. In December 1979, the Pulitzer Prize winning "Gin Game" played to sold-out audiences in Moscow and Leningrad. This was the first American play to be performed in the Soviet Union since the spring of 1976.

In October 1980, a small Soviet Jewish theater group staged Aleksandr Borshchagovsky's "Before the Dawn" at the Romen theater in Moscow. The play recreated the anguish of Kiev Jews on the eve of the Nazi massacre at the ravine of Babi Yar. A year and a half later on May 6, 1982, "Before the Dawn" opened on Broadway.

In January 1980, Edward Albee's "All Over" premiered at the Moscow Art Theater. In February 1980, Soviet playwright Nikolai Erdman's "The Suicide" began its first run in an American theater at the Trinity Square Repertory Theater, in Providence, Rhode Island. This popular play later was produced at New York's American National Theater Academy (ANTA) on October 9, 1980, at the Yale Repertory Theater on November 21, 1980, and at the Arena Stage from January 16 to February 22, 1981. Following its success on Western stages, a production of "The Suicide" premiered at the Satiri Theater in the U.S.S.R. in July 1982.

On August 19, 1980, the Tyrone Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis appointed Romanian Liviu Ciulei as artistic director. Director Ciulei brought his Romanian colleague Andrei Serbonne to Minneapolis to help direct "The Marriage of Figaro" in the summer of 1982, and Lucian Pintelie to direct Chekov's "Seagull." During the 1984 fall season, Moliere's "Tartuffe," directed by Pintelie, premiered in Minneapolis with both stage and custom designs by Romanians.

Poland's avant garde company, the Cricot-Two Theater, made its U.S. debut at New York's La Mama Theater in 1979, presenting the work, "The Dead Cats." When the innovative Polish director Taduseusz Kantor returned to New York in May 1982, he produced a play entitled "Wielopole-Wielopole."

A delegation of Soviet theater specialists attended the National Playwrights Conferences in Waterford, Connecticut in 1981, 1982, 1983 and the most recent conference in July 1984. In March 1981, Jan Skotnicki, a theater director from Poland, participated in USIA's Regional Theater Program, touring Louisville, Kentucky, New York and Washington, D.C. Radu Badila, literary secretary of the Romanian National Theater, Romanian Alexa Visarion of the Giulesti Theater, and the artistic director of the Sofia Regional Theater, Khristo Kratchmarov, also took part. Laszlo Marton, director of Budapest's Vigszinhaz Theatre visited the United States in March 1981. Ion Caramitru, an actor with the Bulandra Theater in Bucharest, visited the United States for 45 days in July 1981 to study American theater. The Bulgarian National Satirical Theater also visited the United states in March 1981. From February 4 to March 13, 1983, Hungarian playwright Istvan Orkeny's "Screenplay" made its debut at the Arena Stage in Washington, D.C.

From February 1-11, 1984, one American playwright, Mario Fratt, and five American theater directors -- Eve Adamson of the Cocteau Repertory Theater in New York, Maurice Edwards of New York's Classics Theater, Norma Marshall of the No Smoking Playhouse in New York, Daniel Irvine of New York's Circle Repertory Theater, and Jerry Engelbach with New York's Soho Repertory Theater -- participated in a cultural tour of the U.S.S.R. organized by the Am-Russ Literary Agency, and met with Soviet playwrights, directors, actors and managers. Plans were developed for an exchange of contemporary scripts, theories, and techniques between artists of the two countries. Four American theater directors are currently reviewing Soviet plays for possible production at regional theaters in the United States. Eve Adamson of the Cocteau Repertory Theater met with Soviet playwright Edvard Racinsky, reviewed three of his plays, and agreed to produce his work "Theater in the Time of Nero and Seneca," which made its debut on September 6, 1984. This is the Cocteau Repertory Theater's first production of an East European play. In June 1984, Soviet playwright Viktor J. Rozov's "The Nest of the Wood Grouse," produced by Joseph Papp, opened at the Public Theater of the New York Shakespeare Festival. The play was later performed in Washington at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

## The European Experience

Among East and West European signatories, exchanges of theater productions and personnel were substantial in the years following the signing of the Final Act. Such contacts illustrate the variety and scope of theatrical trends in Europe and the continued high level of cooperation in this field, which is due, in part, to its widespread appeal among European citizens.

In April 1979, the Moscow Academic Performing Theater toured the Federal Republic of Germany and performed Chekhov's "Three Sisters" and "Ivan" for audiences in Dusseldorf, Cologne and Wuppertal.

In the summer of 1979 at the Vienna Festival, the Jewish Theater of Bucharest performed "The Dibbuk," one of the traditional Yiddish theater's most famous mystery plays, and a comedy, "Das Grosse Los" (The Big Jackpot), by Shalom Aleichem.

Also in the summer of 1979, Soviet playwright Valentin Kataev's "Je Veux Voir Miossov," a two-act vaudeville play, opened at the Theatre du Palais Royal in Paris.

Under the direction of Robert Sturua, the Georgian State Academic Theater-Rustavelli Theater Company performed Bertold Brecht's the "Caucasian Chalk Circle" and "Richard III" at the Edinburgh Festival in August 1979 and, in December 1979, at the Roundhouse Theater in London. The Rustavelli Theater went on to perform both plays at the International Theater Festival in

Florence, Italy in May 1981, at the Volkshaussaal in Zurich during June 1981, and at the Festival of Avignon, France in July 1981.

During September 1979, the Theater Studio of Poland performed Josef Szanjna's adaptation of Dante's "Divine Comedy" at London's Roundhouse Theater. In October 1979, the Hungarian Marionettes performed Ravel's "The Waltz" and Samuel Beckett's "Act Without Words" at the Bobino Theater in Paris.

In November 1979, Poland's Pantomine Theater performed "The Struggle," a play that was adapted from Marivaux's "The Dispute," at the Zurich National Theater. Concurrently, mimic Boris Hybmer of Czechoslovakia performed "Gag" at the Niewe de la Martheater in Amsterdam.

In the context of the cultural agreement between Austria and Czechoslovakia, during November 1979, Vienna's Burg Theater performed Grillparzer's "Saffho" for audiences in Bratislava's National Theater and in Prague's Tyl Theater.

In the fall of 1979, a French theater company performed a four-act tragedy by Polish playwright Slawomir Mrozak, entitled "The Pick of The Hunchback," at the Salle Gemier in Chaillot, France.

European theater exchanges during the years 1980 and 1981 were both multifaceted and extensive. For example, the Romanian Little Theater Company toured Switzerland in the winter of 1980, performing "Nus in Turnul Eiffel" by Ecaterina Oproiu, and Pirandello's "Vestire Gli Ignudi," directed by Catalina Buzoianu.

In January 1980, the National Theater of Warsaw performed "Treny" by Jan Kochanowski, before audiences in Stockholm, while simultaneously the State Student Theater from Warsaw performed "The Wax Figures in Madame Tussaud's Cabinet" in Stockholm. In the spring of 1980, under the guidance of Swiss stage director Erwin Axer, Max Frisch's play "Triptychon" debuted at the Wspolczesny Theater in Warsaw.

At the initiative of translator Lisetta Stembor, in April 1980, a Rotterdam theater ensemble, De Nieuwe Toneelgroup, traveled to Poland. During their stay, De Nieuwe Toneelgroup performed Stanislaw Grochowiak's play, "Die Wahnsinnige Grete", and "The Lunatic Margaret" at the Teatr Ochoty. They performed first in Polish, and then in the Dutch language. After both performances, according to Zycie Warszawy, Polish and Dutch theater players discussed their respective interpretation of the play.

On April 28, 1980, the month-long Second International Theater Meeting convened in Poland in conjunction with the 200th anniversary of Polish theater. In connection with the meeting, theatrical performances were sponsored in Warsaw, Gdansk, Krakow, Lodz, Poznan and Wroclaw. Participating theater companies included the Grand Academic Dramatic Maxim Gorki Theater of Leningrad, the d'Orsay Renaus Barrault Theater Company of Paris, the East Berlin Ensemble, the I. Wazow National Academic Theater of Sofia, the Teatro di Roma, the Robert Wilson Ensemble of the U.S., the Odin Theater of Denmark, the Moscow Dramatic and Comedy Theater Na Tagrance, and the National Theater of Belgium. During the festival, symposia, discussions and other theater-related events were held.

In addition to the International Theater Meeting, several international theater events were held in 1980: the May International Arena Theater Festival in Munster, F.R.G. during May 1980, with participating troupes from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia; the International Festival of Little Theaters in June in Bern, Switzerland with Polish participants; Musiculture '80, a two-week course in stage musicals and dance in the summer of 1980 held in Breukelen, Netherlands with 31 participants, including dramatists from Poland and Czechoslovakia; and the Sferisterio Theater Festival in Macerata, Italy with opening performances by the Stanislaw Moniuszko Grand Theater of Poznan, Poland.

Renowned theater specialist Dinu Cernescu of the Giulesti Theater in Bucharest directed William Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure" during the 1980-1981 season of the National Theater of Belgium. In the summer of 1980, Cernescu's rendition of Shakespeare's comedy premiered at the 20th Theater Festival of the Spa in France.

In February 1981, Prague's Theater in the Night performed before audiences at the Theatre Royale in Brussels. In March 1981, this theater interpreted "The Week of the Dream" at the Volkshaus Theater in Zurich.

The fifth meeting of the liaison committee of the International Non-Governmental Theater Organization was held from May 4-8, 1981 in Schildow near East Berlin to discuss its June 1981 Madrid Congress and to coordinate its program with the International Theater Institute. The 14-member committee included Sergei Obrazzov of the International Association of Puppet Players from the Soviet Union, Peter Selem of the International Association of Theater Libraries and Museums from Yugoslavia, Eva Steina of the International Association of Children's and Youth Theaters from Denmark, and Ilse Rodenberg and Rolf Rogmer of the International Association for Theater Research from the G.D.R.

During 1981, Polish dramatist and stage director Helmut Kajzar delivered several lectures and directed stage productions in the F.R.G. Two of his works, "Music Cracker," and "Samoobrona," were produced for West Berlin television, while the West German publishing house Colloquium printed several of his works.

"Individual Awareness of the Crisis in Contemporary Theater" was the theme of the 14th International Rassegna of the Teatri Stabli in Florence, Italy in the spring of 1981. East European theater groups played a prominent role in the gathering of representatives from eight countries. The Polish Theater Studio staged Kafka's "Processes," while Hungary's Studio K performed Buchner's "Woyzeck."

In May 1981, Tadeusz Kantor's Cricot-2 Theater performed Kantor's "Wielopole-Wielopole" at the Stadthofs 11 in Zurich. Kantor's autobiographical play, based on his childhood experiences in his Polish hometown, debuted earlier in July 1980 at the regional Toscano Teatro in Florence before traveling to the 1980 International Festival in Edinburgh, and later to Paris, London and Brussels. Also, Polish stage producer Andrzej Burzynski directed Henri Michaux's "Plume" at the Theatre de Poche in Brussels from May 12-31, 1981.

During June 1981, the International Festival Theater der Welt '81 in Cologne hosted theatrical groups which held performances at several theaters and halls throughout the city. Moscow's Theater of Satire performed Brecht's "Dreigroschenoper" from June 15-16, and Majakovski's "Wanze" on June 17 and the Krakow State University Drama Department performed Slawomir Mrozek's new play entitled "Zu Fus," from June 20-22.

In the summer of 1981, a record number of visitors attended the five-day International Theater Festival of Villach in the province of Carinthia, Austria. Founded in 1975, and presented in 1981 under the formal title Spectrum 1981, Austria's original intention to organize a festival of theater for youth grew to incorporate each participant's presentation of innovative trends in the theater. The Hungarian State Puppet Theater presented a play adapted to a poem of Sandor Petofi, the Moving Theater of Budapest performed to Bartok's "The Marvelous Mandarin," and the Dance Project Munich Ensemble experimented with "absurd" forms of theatrical expression. The Divaldo na Pravazku troupe from Brno, Czechoslovakia interpreted a Brecht play for the audience.

In August 1981, two Polish theater groups performed in London. Six members of Poland's Theater of the Eighth Day, led by Lech Raczak, debuted at the New Half Moon Theater in London. The Teatr Provisorium from Lublin, Poland performed before a sold-out audience at the ICA Theater in London.

From April 24-30, 1982, the theater group Die Nova Szena Bratislava of Czechoslovakia, under the direction of Vladimir Strnisko, performed "Cabal and Love" in Mannheim, F.R.G. during the Schiller Days '82 festival. In the summer of 1982, Bulgaria hosted the Festival of the Theater of Nations, under the theme "For Understanding and Cooperation Among Peoples and Cultures." Ensembles and theater troupes from more than 30 countries presented drama, opera, puppet theater, ballet and pantomime.

## Music and Performing Arts

### The U.S. Experience

Arrangements for performing artists generally take place within the framework of bilateral cultural agreements, although the absence of an American agreement with Czechoslovakia, the G.D.R. and Poland does not preclude such exchanges. The Final Act encouraged, and in some instances, facilitated, the exchange of musical performers and performing groups.

A particularly active year for performing arts exchanges was 1979. In May 1979, the British rock star Elton John toured Moscow and Leningrad to overwhelmingly enthusiastic audiences. On July 8, 1979, Mikhail Pletnyov, the Soviet Union's piano virtuoso and a winner of the coveted Tchaikovksy International Competition in 1978, began his U.S. orchestral debut with the New Jersey Symphony. Later that month, Pletnyov and two other Gold Medal winners of the Tchaikovsky International Competition, American violinist Elmar Olivetto and American cellist Nathaniel Rosen, performed together for the first time at the Newport Music Festival. In August 1979, the Bolshoi Ballet performed for the first time in the United States in four years. That same month, jazz musician Clarence Gatemouth Brown played to audiences in Moscow. On August 16, 1979, the Nekrasov Russian Folk Orchestra, Moscow Pops, featuring 78 instrumentalists and stars from Soviet opera and ballet, commenced a seven-week tour of the United States with a debut at Carnegie Hall. The Dresden Orchestra of East Germany made its official American debut at Avery Fischer Hall, in November 1979. In 1979, Soviet pianist Emil Gilels visited and performed in the United States. He returned to the United States to perform in April 1983.

In 1980, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Radio and Television agreed to exchange radio broadcast tapes of performances. In October 1980, the Warsaw Mime Theater of the Opera Kameralina inaugurated the International Arts Center at the Beacon Theater in New York City, before touring seven cities in the United States. In November 1980, the Library of Congress hosted the Prague String Quartet. The Washington Opera Company sponsored four East European performers: Spas Wenkoff from East Germany in March 1980; Michael Svetlev and Mariana Paunova from Bulgaria in September 1980; and Denes Gulyas from Hungary in November 1983.

In February 1981, the New York radio station WNYC taped a concert of six Soviet avant-garde music scores, an event that was coordinated by Joel Sachs, the director of "Continuum," the most active avant-garde chamber group in this country. Sachs later featured Soviet avant-gardist Alfred Schnittke's works at a concert at Alice Tully Hall on January 9, 1982. Cleopatra Melindoneanu, prima donna of the Bucharest Operetta performed at Carnegie Hall on June 1, 1981. The Panocha String Quartet from Czechoslovakia made its American debut at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art on October 22, 1981. In December 1981, the Romanian folk group Maramuresal opened at the Brooklyn Center for the Performing Arts.

On January 20, 1982, Romania's "Ballet Fantasio" made its New York debut at the Lehrman College Center for the Performing Arts. Invited by U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hartman, renowned jazz artists Gary Burton and Chick Corea performed in the Soviet Union in July 1982. This event marked the first live American musical tour in the Soviet Union since 1979. "Jazz Ambassador" Willis Conover, producer of "Jazz USA" on Voice of America, also visited the Soviet Union at this time. Other jazz events in Eastern Europe have included the Warsaw Jazz Jamboree, which will celebrate its 27th anniversary this year and includes performers from East and West Europe and the U.S., and the Hungarian "Jazz Days" festival that began over 23 years ago. This past year, performers from the United States, Poland, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, and other signatories to the Final Act participated in the Hungarian Jazz Festival.

Stephen Wozniak, the designer of Apple Computer and founder of Unite Us in Song (UNUSON), a corporation to promote worldwide cooperation through music, organized a 60-minute live rock and roll concert which was relayed simultaneously via satellite from San Bernadino, California to a Moscow TV studio on May 30, 1983. In the winter of 1984, Gunther Herbig assumed the directorship of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, marking the first time that the East German government sanctioned such a move by a G.D.R. citizen, according to impressario Sheldon Gold who coordinated Mr. Herbig's appointment. On April 3, 1984, some 200 lunch-hour listeners gathered at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York to hear four Soviet musicians perform classical and folk music at a free concert. The musicians were part of a 19-member delegation of specialists in film, music and theater touring several American cities in a visit arranged by the Citizen Exchange Council. In the spring of 1984, U.S. entertainer Pearl Bailey performed at the U.S. Ambassador's residence in Moscow.

## The European Experience

European performing arts exchanges are more expansive and varied and enjoy a longer historical tradition than U.S.-East European exchanges. In part, geographical proximity ensures easier access to other European markets. While the conditions of improved political relations that ensued in the years after the signing of the Final Act may have exerted some influence in the expansion of this type of cultural contact, the Final Act has fostered a greater interest among the Western participating states in the cultural offerings of East European signatories. For example, as mentioned previously, after the signing of the Final Act, the U.K. established a Visiting Arts Unit, an agency that disseminates information about musical and artistic performances and assists East European artists in scheduling performances in the United Kingdom.

Chief performing arts exchanges include musical performances, ballet and dance performances, and operatic performances. Within each category, cooperation occurs on many different levels: through colloquia; competitions; international festivals; consultations on productions; and guest solo performances. West European audiences have enthusiastically received East European performing artists representing the cultural traditions of their respective countries. A sampling of such exchanges in the post-Helsinki period follows.

In July 1979, for the first time in ten years, Soviet pianist Emil Gilels appeared at the Proms Concert in London, and played, for the first time in his career, "The Grieg Concerto." In July 1979, Soviet pianist Lazar Berman performed works of Prokofiev, Handel, and Chopin at the Linsinski Concert Hall in Zagreb, Yugoslavia. In October 1979, Polish conductor Stanislaw Skrowaczewski opened the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra's program with Weber's "Freischutz Overture."

In November 1979, Soviet pianist Vladimir Ashkenazy appeared with the London Philharmonic Orchestra in Frankfurt am Main, as both soloist and conductor, offering the works of Mozart, Beethoven, Bach, Sibelius, and Tschaikovsky. On tour through Europe that year, Ashkenazy appeared in Zurich for the first time in ten years on December 9, 1979 and on March 17, 1980 with the London Philharmonic Orchestra.

In November 1979, Polish pianist Krystian Zimerman, the winner of the 1975 Chopin competition in Warsaw, performed works by Brahms and Mozart at the Concertgebouw's Master Series program in Amsterdam.

In September 1979, the Palais des Sports in Paris hosted the Moscow Circus on Ice for its Parisian debut. The troupe, consisting of 90 performers, including figure skaters and acrobatists, performed circus acts as well as traditional folk dances. In October 1979, the highly regarded Becher String Quartet of Dresden gave a debut recital at the Wigmore Hall in London. Their appearance was sponsored by the Britain-G.D.R. Society on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of statehood of the G.D.R.

Beginning on January 8, 1980, the Brno Quartet, comprised of members of the Czechoslovak State Philharmonic Orchestra, gave a series of concerts in Leiceister, Folkestone and Manchester, where they performed works by Mozart, Haydn, Smetana, Dvorak, Janacek and Martinu.

Also in January 1980, Soviet artists David Borovsky and Yuri Lyubimov produced Mussogorsky's opera, "Boris Gudonov" at La Scala in Italy with Bulgarian operatic stars filling the chief roles. That same month in Amsterdam at the Concertgebouw, as part of a series of Saturday matinees sponsored by a Dutch radio and television association, Tchaikovsky's opera "Mazeppa" featured Soviet soloists in a premiere performance.

In February 1980, Romania's Cluj-Napoca Philharmonic completed its French tour at the Gaveau Hall in Paris. Also that month, the G.D.R. Academy of Art appointed Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis to its ranks, and confirmed his membership at the tenth annual "Festival of Political Songs." In May 1980, Moscow's Bolshoi Opera performed in West Berlin for the first time. In June 1980, the Dresden Staatskapelle premiered in Paris with a concert at the Theatre des Champs-Elysees.

On September 18, 1980, the 25-member folk troupe Baku from Azerbaidzhan, U.S.S.R., performed before an enthusiastic audience at the Volkshaus in Zurich. The artists rendered pastoral folk songs and dances in native costume, language and musical instrumentation.

From September 24-27, 1980, Polish composer Krzystof Penderecki conducted the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra in Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam. The Dutch group Ensemble M performed Penderecki's compositions in the Netherlands at the same time.

The 24-member Basilican Men's Choir from Sofia gave a concert of traditional folk songs and centuries-old church music in Zurich on December 8, 1980 under the direction of Dimitar Ruskov. In February 1981, Leningrad's Jacobson Ballet made its first appearance in the West in Venice.

G.D.R. conductor Kurt Sanderling led the London Philharmonic Orchestra on February 10, 1981 in a program of Rachmaninoff. Also in London that month, Ukrainian baritone Yuri Masurok sang works by Soviet composers and native Ukrainian folk songs at Wigmore Hall. Hungarian cellist Csaba Onczay also debuted that month at Wigmore Hall.

On March 30, 1981, Radio France broadcast live the Prague Quartet's performance of three Czech composers -- Dvorak, Feld, and Janacek -- in the first of two concerts.

In October 1981, Moscow was the site of a symposium on contemporary Austrian music and aesthetic influences in both Austria and the Soviet Union on conductors, musicians, and composers. Under the joint guidance of Soviet and Austrian conductors, the compositions of Kurt Rapf and Robert Schollum were performed in a concert. According to Die Press, Austria and the Soviet Union used the opportunity afforded by the symposium to conclude a cultural agreement on the exchange of conductors and soloists.

Also that month, Polish pianist Barbara Gorzynska made her debut performance at London's Festival Hall, interpreting the first movement of Mendelssohn's "Violin Concerto in E Minor." On April 9, 1982, the Belgian-Hungarian piano duo of Heidi Hendricks and Levente Kende gave a recital to an enthusiastic audience at the Doelen Hall in Rotterdam. And on April 10-11, 1982, French composer and conductor Serge Baudo led the Dresden Philharmonic for two special concerts with a program consisting in the works of Schumann, Grieg and Frank. On May 6, 1982, Soviet conductor Yuri Simonov made his orchestral conducting debut in Britain as guest conductor for the London Symphony Orchestra. In June 1982, 20 dancers of the Polish National Ballet, "Mazowsze," made their first appearance in Switzerland at the Zurich Hallendstadion.

## Visual Arts

### The U.S. Experience

By sanctioning exchanges between art museums of East and West, the Final Act created the cooperative groundwork for the future exchange of artworks. As a result of the ameliorated conditions that the Helsinki Agreement fostered, several major exhibits from Eastern Europe were for the first time viewed in U.S. museums.

In August 1975 just three weeks after the signing of the Final Act, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York signed a five-year protocol with the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Culture for a reciprocal exchange of art exhibitions. Three Soviet curators consulted and supervised the exhibition of Russian costumes never before shown outside the Soviet Union for the exhibit "The Glory of Russian Costume" which opened on December 6, 1976 and continued through August 1977. Bulgaria's preeminent collection of "Thracian Treasures" was shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from June to September 1977 in the first major loan of Bulgarian art to the United States. "Treasures From the Kremlin: An Exhibition From the State Museums of the Moscow Kremlin," opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on May 1979, but the rest of its American tour was canceled following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In November 1980, the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibited "New Glass," which included in the collection notable works from several East European craftsmen.

According to John Wilmerding, deputy director of the National Gallery of Art, the Helsinki Accords serve as a reference point for art exchange negotiations and provide a possible framework for negotiation. The National Gallery of Art has been active in art exchange with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In an unprecedented loan to the United States, on July 30, 1975, just one day before the signing of the Final Act, "Master Paintings from the Hermitage and the State Russian Museum, Leningrad," opened at the National Gallery of Art. The G.D.R.'s loan of "The Splendor of Dresden," began a one-year American tour at the National Gallery of Art on June 1, 1978. "From Leonardo to Titian: Italian Renaissance Paintings from the Hermitage," the first Soviet loan of Italian old master paintings, premiered at the National Gallery on May 13, 1979 before traveling to the Los Angeles County Museum and New York's Knoedler Gallery. In return, the National Gallery loaned 11 paintings of 15th to 17th-century Italian artists to Moscow and Leningrad. In the past two years, the National Gallery of Art has entered negotiations for exchanges of art with Czechoslovakia and Romania.

"The Art of Russia, 1800-1850" began a U.S. tour on October 1978 at the University of Minnesota Art Gallery. A month-long festival of Russian art and culture was held in conjunction with this major loan. During 1978 and 1979, a Hungarian "Art Nouveau" exhibit was shown in ten American cities. From July to September 1979, "Fotografia Polska--1839-1979," organized by the New York-based International Center of Photography, the Polish Ministry of Culture, and the Union of Polish Art Photographers, was shown in New York, Chicago, London, Paris, Warsaw and Lodz. According the Bill Ewing, director of special exhibitions at the International Center of Photography, this was the first major exhibit to be loaned by Poland. Based upon the success of this exhibition loan, negotiations are presently underway for a similar photography exhibit from Hungary.

In June 1980, 70 theater posters from Poland and the U.S.S.R. were displayed at the City University of New York's graduate center, in conjunction with a humanities seminar on contemporary Polish and Soviet drama. In October 1980, the Polish American Congress and the American Embassy in Warsaw coordinated a photographic exhibit depicting the 1944 Warsaw Uprising from rare photographs of Mr. Jerzy Tomaszewski's archives. This unique collection was displayed at the American Legion Headquarters in Washington, D.C. and the Kosciuszko Foundation in New York. In December 1981, a rare collection of Polish Judaica premiered in the United States at Harvard University's Widener Library.

The Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service (SITES) has also successfully negotiated art exchanges with Eastern Europe. According to Donald McClellan, associate director of SITES, each East European Ministry of Culture has been cooperative and the institutional contacts continue to bear positive results. Examples of early cooperation include an exhibit that opened in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on December 18, 1976 entitled "Space Art from the U.S.S.R." Twenty-two Polish artists were represented in an exhibition of contemporary tapestries and weavings that began a two-year American tour at the Smithsonian's Renwick Gallery in June 1979. In November 1981, 88 pieces of Bulgarian pre-Slav treasures were displayed at Dumbarton Oak's Byzantine Collection, in Washington, D.C. Czechoslovakia loaned "The Precious Legacy: Judaic Treasures from the Czechoslovak State Collections" to SITES in November 1983, to begin its six city tour of the United States.

The first SITES exhibition to tour Eastern Europe, "The American Impressionists," traveled to East Berlin in July 1982, to Bucharest that August, and ended in Sofia in January 1983. According to Donald McClellan, the Soviet Union has demonstrated a willingness to receive this highly successful exhibition; Soviet authorities have also entered negotiations with SITES on future exchanges of their art collections from the Pushkin and Hermitage museums.

Exhibits sponsored by the official United States Information Agency (USIA) have best promoted the Final Act's goal of contributing to "a better comprehension among people and among peoples, and thus promote a lasting understanding among States," because literally hundreds of thousands of East Europeans flock to see them. The term "exhibit" is misleading, since these USIA-administered events entail creating an entire museum through the use of visual, written and audio-visual materials. Since the provisions for these exhibits are almost exclusively contained in bilateral exchange agreements, the period from 1976 to 1979 witnessed the largest increase in the number of USIA-organized exhibits.

Some examples of USIA exhibits include "Photography USA" which, after touring Romania from February to May 1975 toured Minsk and Kiev, U.S.S.R., attracting over 588,000 spectators, from July 15 to November 6, 1976. From December 1977 to October 1978, "Photography-USA" returned to the Soviet Union and an audience of 924,771 in four cities. The USIA's bicentennial exhibit entitled "USA-200 Years" opened to a crowd of 270,000 in Moscow on November 11, 1976 and was reciprocated by a Soviet 60th anniversary exhibit in the U.S. during 1977.

"Photography-USA" also traveled to Plovdiv and Sofia, Bulgaria from June to August 1978; this was the first American exhibit to be shown in Bulgaria since before World War II. In 1977, the Hungarian Cultural Institute agreed to accept the first USIA exhibit into their country; "Reflections: Images of America" was viewed by 27,000 in Budapest from June 3-26, 1977. "America Now: The Arts of Today," which opened in Budapest on June 2, 1980, attracted over 33,000 visitors. That show traveled to Romania later in 1980. Also in 1980, a solo exhibition of the "Artist at Work in America" visited Varna, Bulgaria from January 10-27.

From October 13-29, 1981, "American Museums" toured Bucharest and then returned to Cluj-Napoka in Romania from May 25 to June 13, 1982. Later that year, "American Museums" traveled to Sofia. "The American Theater Today" toured Budapest from November 2-28, 1982, and Sofia from June 28 to July 15, 1984. The most recent USIA exhibit entitled, "Filmmaking in America," was viewed by 60,000 Hungarians during June 1984 in Budapest.

## The European Experience

The Helsinki Final Act exerted a positive influence on European exchanges of artworks and curators. Many bilateral cultural agreements outlining provisions for specific loans as well as the showing of outstanding exibitions were reached. Major museum exchanges in the post-Helsinki period are chronicled in this section.

From May 16 to October 15, 1979, "Paris-Moscow," the largest exhibition of Russian art ever displayed outside the Soviet Union, premiered at the Georges Pompidou Cultural Center in Paris. A total of 2,500 artworks and documents from the years 1900-1930 exploring music, literature, architecture, city planning, photography, theater, ballet, film posters, and sculpture were included.

In April 1979, Romania's "Classical Civilization of the Daco-Getae Exhibition," a collection of 450 artifacts, such as metal works, ceramic art and silver, from the Dacian culture opened in Brussels. Organized by a team of specialists led by Hadrian Daicoviciu of the Museum of Transylvanian History, this exhibit later traveled to several European countries, including Luxembourg, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

From May 9 to July 9, 1979, seven Dutch artists were represented at the Third International Triannual of Realism in Sofia, Bulgaria. Also in May 1979, an exhibit of the decorative arts of Turkmenia, U.S.S.R., from Ashkhabad's Museum of Fine Arts, was loaned to the Museum of Man in Paris.

During the summer of 1979, the Palais de L'Isle in Paris, in collaboration with the National Gallery of Prague, displayed an impressive collection of Czecholsovakian artist Jiri Trnka. Included for display were his engravings, wood sculpture, paintings, stage decorations, puppets, book illustrations and films.

In 1979, for the first time, the Georgian Art Museum in Tbilisi, U.S.S.R., loaned 60 medieval liturgical gold and silver pieces to the Museum of Art and History in Geneva.

Also in the summer of 1979, the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad and the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy signed an agreement to exchange exhibitions and "experience in the restoration and repair of paintings." In 1982, the Uffizi organized a special exhibition, through a Hermitage loan of 100 rarely seen paintings from the 15th to the 17th centuries. The Hermitage has arranged similar exchanges with the Louvre Museum in Paris, the Prado in Madrid, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

In the fall of 1979, the Sternberg Palace in Prague exhibited a collection of French paintings from the 19th and 20th centuries loaned from the collection of the French National Gallery. As part of this Czechoslovakian-French art exchange, Czech art dating from the Cubist period was loaned to the George Pompidou Center in Paris.

A 350-piece exhibition entitled "A Picture of the GDR: Art, Culture, Society" opened in Rome in the fall of 1979 at the Palazzo delle Exposizioni. The works were on loan from several museums in the G.D.R. Also during the fall of 1979, an exhibit entitled "Working Association of the Community of the Federal Republic of Germany-Union of Socialist Soviet Republics" opened in Baku, Azherbaidzhan. This exhibit examined contemporary life in West Germany, and included portraits of prominent German authors and novels. The show later toured Tbilisi, Tashkent, Dushanbe and Alma Ata.

During October and November 1979, G.D.R. artist A.R. Penck's works were displayed at the Museum Boymans in Rotterdam.

After its tour of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, in the fall of 1979, the Kremlin treasures were exhibited at the Grand Palais in Paris through January 14, 1980. Also as part of an international tour, in the fall of 1979, the exhibit "Thracian Art and Culture in the Lands of Bulgaria" opened at the Roman-Germanic Museum in Cologne. Sofia Press reported that over 230,000 West Germans visited this exhibition. On September 5, 1980, the same exhibit opened in Stockholm at the Historical Museum of Sweden. The Thracian treasures could also be viewed in Munich, Britian, and the U.S.

In conjunction with an annual exhibition of the works of an intellectual, artistic, or literary figure, in 1979, Bulgaria featured the artist Leonardo da Vinci and borrowed several of the artist's works from museums in Italy and Britain. In November 1979, the Polish museum Novie Sacz lent a number of works by Nikifor, a Polish watercolor artist to the Quadriga Forum in Zurich.

In January 1980, the British Arts Council compiled the works of Hungarian photographer Laszlo Moholy Nagy for an exhibit at the I.C.A. in London. The photographer's works later toured Leicester, Edinburgh and Newcastle.

Polish art received wide European audiences in the spring of 1980. From February through March 4, 1980, the Musee d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris exhibited over 140 works of 17 contemporary Polish sculptors. On March 1, 1980, in Helsinki, the "Days of Warsaw," an exhibition of photographs and archival materials that documented the reconstruction of Warsaw after World War II, opened with a series of festivities, including a concert by the Wilanowski Quartet, a piano concert by Piotr Paleczny at Finlandia Hall, and a film documentary on Polish jazz and jazz musicians. On April 2, 1980, the Georges Pompidou Center in Paris displayed the works of Polish cartoonist and poster designer Jan Lenica.

In March 1980, in an effort to acquaint Romanian citizens with Spanish culture, an exhibition of contemporary Spanish works including those of Miro, Canogra, Clave and Tapies, opened at the Bucharest Art Museum.

From March through April 20, 1980, a retrospective focusing on the works of early avant garde Soviet painter Kasimir Malewitsch, debuted at the Kunsthalle in Dusseldorf. According to Hans Peter Riese of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, the exhibition was a "cultural-political sensation." The exhibition later traveled to the Kunsthalle in Hamburg and the Kunsthalle in Baden-Baden.

In April 1980, the curator of Belgium's Museum of Contemporary Art in Ghent arranged an exhibition of contemporary works of six Hungarian artists.

From June 19 through September 1, 1980, artifacts of Romanian folk history including costumes, photographs, pottery, and other objects were among the documentary exhibitions offered in conjunction with "The Days of Romanian Folk Culture" held at the Terre des Hommes Centre in Montreal, Canada. Simultaneously, during the festival, at the Romanian Pavilion, concerts, native paintings, costume parades, and documentary films were exhibited. According to Ion Monafu of the Romanian News, this Romanian folk art exhibit was the first of its kind to be displayed in Canada.

The paintings of Polish artist Jacek Malczewski, whose principal works reside at a Poznan Museum, were exhibited in 1980 for the first time in Western Europe. In cooperation with Polish art experts, the directors of three West German museums arranged for Malczewski's principal works to debut at the Wurttenberg Art Society in Stuttgart in May, at the Kiel Art Hall from June 20 to August 24, and at the Wilhelm Lehmbruch Museum in Duisburg from September 7 to October 12, 1980.

In July 1980, the Lucerne Art Museum in Switzerland displayed Polish paintings on loan from the National Museum of Warsaw. The show, entitled "Remarkable Gardens" revealed romantic, realist and impressionist trends in late 19th and early 20th century Polish art.

Also in July 1980, an exhibition entitled "People and the Environment: Paintings, Graphics, Sculpture from the G.D.R.," with 85 works of 30 East German artists was shown at the West Berlin Bethanien Art Center. The exhibition was on loan from the G.D.R. Center for Art Exhibitions.

The exhibit "Sweden-Bulgaria -- Voices of Seven Centuries," which included Slavonic manuscripts, old maps and official documents of Bulgaria as well as notes of Swedish explorers who had visited the area opened on September 5, 1980 at Stockholm's Historical Museum of Sweden.

The director of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and the director of the Art History Museum in Vienna attended a concert by cellist Natalje Gutmann and violinist Leonid Kogan on September 5, 1980 in Moscow to open the exhibition entitled "Masterworks of European Paintings from the 16th to the 18th Century" at the Pushkin Museum. An estimated 250,000 to 300,000 Muscovites were able to view the collection of masterworks by Titian, Velazquez, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Rubens, Franz Hals and Gainsborough. In November 1980, this prominent collection returned to Vienna.

In the framework of Spain's cultural exchange agreement with the Soviet Union, 23 paintings from Madrid's Prado Museum were loaned to Leningrad's Hermitage Museum from September through December 1980. In April 1981, the Hermitage loaned 25 works, among them paintings by Dutch and Spanish masters, to the Prado and to a museum in Barcelona.

In December 1980, the works of nine Bolognese artists were shown at the Arhezi Hall in the National Theater Museum in Bucharest sponsored by the arts section of Romania's Central Library.

In the spring of 1981, an exhibition of Bavarian handicrafts, industrial products and works of art opened in Bucharest. On August 18, 1981, the Swiss architectural agency Pro Helvetia organized an exhibition entitled "Building in Switzerland from 1970-1980" at the East Berlin permanent exhibition of architecture.

As a result of a 1972 Romanian-Cypriot cultural agreement, 60 abstract paintings by 20 Cypriot artists were viewed at the National Theater in Bucharest in September 1981. Also during September 1981, the works of West German artist Otto Modersohn were on view at the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts.

During October 1981, some 150 works by 40 Swiss artists were loaned to the Museum of Art Collections in Bucharest by the Fine Arts Museum in Lausanne.

Under the framework of the F.R.G.-Soviet cultural agreement supporting exchanges of artworks between museums, an exhibition of Russian 17th to 19th century ornamental gold and silver work opened at the Wallraf Richartz Museum in Cologne in October 1981, on loan from the State Museum of Moscow and the Hermitage Museum.

In November 1981, under an agreement between the United Kingdom and Bulgaria, the British Museum loaned a portion of its Egyptian art collection -- consisting of table top sculpture, stone vessels, jewelry, flat relief burial inscriptions, ceramics, amulets, and papyr -- to the Archaelogical Museum in Sofia.

In December 1981, an exhibition of Max Klinger's paintings, graphics and plastics opened at the Kunstlerhaus in Vienna. Much of Klinger's works were obtained through the Museum of Fine Arts in Leipzig under the framework of an existing Austrian-G.D.R. bilateral exchange agreement.

The National Museum of Warsaw organized a collection of 114 paintings by old masters from seven museums to be displayed at the Castle Coburg in Coburg, F.R.G. during April 1982.

From July 11 to August 15, 1982, the Krakow National Museum loaned an exhibition of 127 paintings, drawings and sketches by Polish painter Jan Matejko to museums in Nurenberg and Braunschweig, F.R.G., and in Konstanza, Switzerland.

In April 1982, as part of a bilateral cultural and artistic exchange program between Turkey and Romania, an exhibition of Turkish photographs were displayed in Bucharest. Also that month, an exhibition of Belgian lace opened at the Art Museum of Bucharest. The Belgian Ministry of Flemish Affairs and the Royal Museum of Art and History in Brussels, together with the Art Museum of Bucharest, helped organize a varied collection of lace dating as far back as the 16th century.

In April 1982, the Ion Mincu Architecture Institute in Bucharest displayed the works of Austrian architects from the period 1860-1930.

On June 10, 1982, Spanish sculptor Pablo Serrano's works were displayed at the Moscow House of Friendship and, a month later, at the Hermitage Museum. Also, in June 1982, organized by the G.D.R. Ministry for Culture and the Austrian Ministry for Science and Research, an exhibition of 400 Viennese objects from 1718-1864 opened at the Arts and Crafts Museum in East Berlin.

East German artists gained wide exposure to European audiences in the fall of 1982. In October 1982, for the first time in its 40-year history, the G.D.R. was represented at the Venice Biennial and at the Triennial of Young Artists in

Paris. From July 25 to October 10, 1982, seven East German artists competed in an international ceramic competition in Faenca, Italy.

Through November 1, 1982, Hungary lent a substantial collection of works for an exhibition entitled, "Matthias Corvinus and the Renaissance in Hungary," that appeared in the West for the first time in Schallaburg, Austria. The exhibit explored, through 900 artworks on loan from 12 countries, the life of Matthias Corvinus, a chief exponent of humanism during the Renaissance period.

On March 1, 1983, "The Yellow Star," an exhibit documenting Jewish persecution during World War II and compiled by the director of the Institute for Judaism at the University of Vienna opened at East Berlin's Humboldt University.

February 18, 1983, marked the opening of an exhibition of 98 works by 18 Finnish artists at the New Berlin Gallery in the East Berlin Alten Museum, sponsored by the G.D.R. Center for Art Exhibitions and the Fine Arts Union. The Fine Arts Union and the Republic of Finland signed an agreement on that date to promote exchanges of delegations and exhibitions between the two countries.

## Bilateral Cultural Events

Since 1975, CSCE signatories have hosted several bilateral cultural events keeping with preexisting or newly-negotiated cultural exchange agreements, and in connection with West European cultural centers in Eastern Europe. These "Cultural Weeks" encompass a wide range of cultural activities, such as art exhibitions, film showings, theatrical performances and other events. They also illustrate the cultural traditions of a particular country and afford an opportunity for leading cultural and political figures to meet and discuss further forms of cultural cooperation.

The first German Cultural Week in Hungary opened on January 4, 1979 in Budapest. The F.R.G. State Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the President of the Hungarian Institute for Cultural Relations presided over the opening ceremonies which featured the performances of the NDR Symphony Orchestra, Dusseldorf Theater Playhouse, Berlin Brandis Quartet and the Wurtenberg State Theater of Stuttgart. Other events during the week included film and visual art exhibitions, a joint scientific symposium, and preliminary talks on a cultural accord between the University of Hamburg and the University of Budapest. The second German Cultural Week in Budapest was held during January 1984.

From April 11-24, 1980, "Cultural Days of the Federal Republic of Germany" were held in Romania. Political and cultural leaders from both countries attended various events during the festival.

For the first time in cooperation with any Western country, Bulgaria held a highly successful week-long series of West German cultural performances in November 1980. Among the featured activities were films, concerts, dramatic presentations, a guest performance by the Stuttgart Ballet, an exhibition from a museum in Cologne entitled "Romanic Treasures on the Rhine," a colloquium at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and a jointly-held legal seminar. Due to the success of the first West German cultural week, a Bulgarian cultural week in the F.R.G. is currently being planned for 1985, with another German cultural week in Bulgaria projected for 1986.

In October 1983, the "Days of Austrian Culture" in Czechoslovakia featured, for the first time, an exhibition of contemporary Austrian literature. In return, the Czechoslovakian Government sponsored a cultural festival in Austria during December 1984.

## International Cultural Events

Since the signing of the Final Act, a number of annual international fora and cultural events have been attended by participants from the United States, Canada, Western and Eastern Europe. Scores of international festivals are held each year in Europe in such cities as Lausanne, Cannes and Montreaux. Since 1975, several new international festivals have been held, and for the first time, East European performing artists have appeared at longstanding international festivals. For example, the Sofia Opera, the Dresden Opera and the Kirov Ballet first performed at the Lausanne Festival in Switzerland in May 1979.

In November 1976 in Bucharest, Americans exchanged views with East European colleagues from Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia during the second International Colloquium of the Commission of the Balkan Countries Today. From July to August 1977, an International Ballet Pedagogical Seminar and Competition was held in Varna, Bulgaria. Also in 1977, representatives from Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. were among the 14 participants who attended the first International Conference on Science and Technology Museums in Philadelphia. In Jackson, Mississippi in June 1979, contestants from Czechoslovakia and Poland and judges from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Soviet Union participated in the first United States International Ballet Competition. In June 1980, the World Puppetry Festival featured performances by the Czechoslovak "East Bohemian Puppet Theater" and the Hungarian State Puppet Theater at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C.

In March 1980, the Bulgarian Committee for Culture sponsored an international symposium in Sofia, entitled "Humanism and the Development of Culture." Simultaneously, an exhibition of "The

Historic Fate of Humanism in the Development and Interaction of Cultures" was displayed at the Alexander Nevsky Memorial Church in Sofia.

In May 1980, an international jury of music experts selected Dutch conductor Gerard Oskamp as the winner of the "Third International Competition for Young Conductors" in Budapest from among 49 conductors representing 17 countries.

At the "Fifth International Competition for French Horns" in Toulon, France during June 1980, judges awarded first prize to Romanian Nicolae Dosa Jenadon of the Georges Enesco Orchestra in Bucharest, and second prize to East German Erich Markwart of the East Berlin Comic Opera.

In September 1980, folk groups from Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Romania participated in the second "Balkan Festival of Folklore," held in Bucharest and sponsored by the Romanian Council of Socialist Culture and Education.

From June 18 through July 8, 1981, the island of Corfu, Greece, hosted it's first "Corfu Arts Festival." Greek and Czechoslovak orchestras, British and Italian music ensembles, and Hungary's Gyor Ballet held performances each evening during the festival.

From June 20 through July 5, 1981 the "Festival of New Music" in Middleburg, Netherlands featured a number of ensembles and performing artists who specialize in contemporary music. During the festival, Polish composer Bohuslav Schaffer delivered a lecture on his works.

In July 1981, Christopher Willibald Gluck's adaptation of Orpheus and Euridice premiered at the Vienna Grosser Konzerthaussaal with an international opera cast and orchestra that included Romanian opera singer Eugenia Moldoveanu, Austrian soprano Regina Winkelmayer, and Belgian tenor Zeger Vandersteens. Hungarian and Romanian musicians formed the orchestra, while British and the American singers assisted in the vocal arrangements.

On July 31, 1981, Montepulciano's sixth "Cantiere Internazionale D'Arte," in Italy focused on the theme "With a View over the Danube--A Glance to Eastern Europe" and featured East European films and renditions of compositions by East Europeans. East European guest orchestral ensembles included Prague's Kuhn Choir and Leipzig's Hans Eisler Group of New Music.

On August 2, 1981, the "Fourth International Fairy Tale Film Festival" opened in Odense, Denmark, the birthplace of Hans Christian Anderson. Participants from 20 countries, including Bulgaria, contributed 80 films to the festival.

In Switzerland, from August 15 to September 8, 1981, Lucerne's "International Festival of Music" commemorated the 100th anniversary of the birth of Romanian violinist and composer Georges Enescu. Hungary's Bartok Quartet, Romania's National Philharmonic Orchestra, and the Hungarian National Philharmonic Orchestra performed at the festival.

In the summer of 1981, the fifth Hungarian musical competition "Interforum" was held at Festetics Castle in Keszthely on Lake Balaton. Twenty-four entrants from East and West included singers and instrumentalists whose performances were broadcast live on Hungarian television.

From May 13-15, 1982, the Czech Music Society organized a symposium on the "symphonic poem" at the Prague Cultural Palace. Music scholars from Eastern Europe met with their colleagues from the U.S., U.K., France, Austria, and F.R.G. to discuss various aspects of the symphonic poem.

In June 1982, outstanding musicians competed in the "Seventh International Tchaikovsky Competition" in Moscow. Representatives from Norway, Luxembourg, and Malta participated for the first time that year. Also in June, the sixth Jazz Festival of East Berlin hosted jazz groups and soloists from 13 countries.

In July 1982, 400 musicians gathered in Nurnberg, F.R.G., to attend the seventh annual "World Congress of the International Saxophone Federation." Saxophone specialists from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Soviet Union were among those who participated in the five-day Congress.

## Cultural Centers

Although only one American cultural center opened in Eastern Europe after 1975, the USIA continued to maintain "Press and Cultural Section Libraries," housed within the American Embassy or Consulate buildings, that were established previously in each of the East European countries. USIA libraries in Poland opened in Warsaw during 1965, Krakow in 1974, and Poznan in 1965. The American Embassy has maintained Press and Cultural Libraries in Budapest since 1966, in Prague since 1968, and in Sofia since 1967. In 1977, an American Press and Cultural Library opened in East Berlin.

In addition to maintaining Press and Cultural Section Libraries, the USIA administers an "American Center" in Bucharest that was established under a bilateral cultural agreement signed in 1969. The American Center formally opened in 1972, and is distinguishable from a Press and Cultural Section Library since it is located in a completely separate and independent building from the Embassy or Consulate. The American Center in Bucharest hosts over 20 American speakers per year, and sponsors both small and large scale exhibitions throughout Romania. Containing 12,000 books, over 200 magazines and periodicals, open displays, a film and videotape library, a library theater and an exhibit gallery, the American Center is the only facility in Romania to have direct access to American books and publications. According to USIA officials, usage of the American Center, particularly attendance at library-sponsored programs, has continued to grow modestly.

As a result of the Helsinki Final Act's commitment to examine the feasibility of establishing a Cultural Data Bank for Europe, formal negotiations were initiated by UNESCO. According to Harold Horowitz, Director of Research for the National Endowment for the Arts, in Washington, D.C., the Helsinki Final Act was the seminal source for this project. In 1977, the first working meeting of experts under the auspices of UNESCO was held in Bucharest; subsequent meetings were held in Brussels in 1978, Liege in 1979, and in Budapest in 1980. According to Mr. Horwitz, "The Helsinki Accord on the establishment of a Cultural Data Bank for Europe, as one of many measures towards cooperation and security in Europe, assumed political as well as intellectual importance during the meeting in Budapest in December 1980. The process of the 35 nations working together to resolve the technical and managerial difficulties of the Cultural Data Bank and the potential exchanges of information that may take place through it, is important in both contexts."

Several European cultural centers have opened after the signing of the Final Act, affording an even greater opportunity to offer ongoing cultural presentations on a variety of different subject matter.

Since 1974, the Polish Institute in Stockholm has sponsored a variety of activities, including cultural performances by Polish artists, the showing of Polish films, educational presentations and the "Polish Days of Sweden" in six Swedish cities. The institute has also contributed to better mutual knowledge between Swedish firms and Polish enterprises by providing foreign trade exhibitions, seminars and symposia on Polish business activities. In September 1980, the Polish Institute in Stockholm scheduled a Chopin School Competition for piano students from Stockholm and Uppsala. The first prize was a trip to Poland to participate in the International Chopin Competition.

In Darmstadt, F.R.G., a German-Polish Insitute opened in April 1979. First set forth in the 1973 F.R.G.-Romanian exchange agreement, a new German Cultural Institute also opened in Bucharest in 1979. Among the Cultural Institute's many offerings are a 3,000 volume library, a collection of film and other informational materials, German language courses and open lectures. At the opening of the Institute, the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the F.R.G. referred to ongoing European cultural cooperation in light of the Helsinki Final Act.

According to the Polish newspaper Zycie Warszawy, a Polish-Canada Society was established in Warsaw during the summer of 1980. The goal of this society is to facilitate and develop cooperation between the two countries, and to inform Poles about life in Canada.

In November 1979, a Polish Cultural Center opened in Paris with an exhibition of contemporary paintings.

As a result of the Finnish-Hungarian exchange agreement, on November 21, 1980, the Hungarian Cultural Institute in Finland opened. The building contains a large conference room, a library, and a language laboratory.

Among the activities of the Austrian Cultural Institute in Budapest, Austrian violinist Renee Staar performed in March 1980 and, in December 1980, the Vienna French Horn Quartet played to enthusiastic audiences. In the winter of 1981, the Austrian theater and cabaret artist, Fritz Miliar, entertained a fully packed audience at the Institute. Austria also maintains a Cultural Institute in Warsaw and, in December 1979, organized a Raimund Festival to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Polish premiere of Ferdinand Raimund's story, the "Girl from the Fairy Tale World."

During January 1981, the Germany-Hungary Society, which is a part of the Rhine Westphalia Foreign Society of Dortmund, F.R.G., drew up an extensive program for F.R.G.-Hungarian cultural cooperation. Events included an exhibition of Hungarian photographer Peter Korniss' works, the showing of Hungarian films in Cologne, a program dedicated to the Hungarian composer Bela Bartok, and information about Hungary's museums. The Germany-Hungary Society also sponsors language courses in Hungarian using native teachers as well as study trips and tours to Budapest.

## Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

The Final Act also recommended that the participating states implement "joint projects for conserving, restoring and showing to advantage works of art, historical and archeological monuments, and sites of cultural interest." The Final Act suggested that CSCE signatories organize experts meetings, publish joint articles to improve and harmonize different inventory and cataloguing systems, and sponsor international courses to train restoration specialists. Since the signing of the Helsinki Agreement, several initiatives have been made on the bilateral and multilateral level.

At the forefront in the conservation of cultural property, the UNESCO General Conference adopted a recommendation on November 22, 1976 entitled, "Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas." From September 26-28, 1977, a meeting of experts on the improvement and possible harmonization of systems of inventories and catalogues of monuments and sites used in countries of Europe and North America was held in Warsaw. In his opening address to the conference, the representative of the Director General of UNESCO stated that this meeting was being held in view of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He expressed UNESCO's hope that the meeting would provide the basis for a form of harmonization of inventory systems used in the countries of Europe and North America and contribute thereby to strengthening European cooperation and exchanges in the protection of cultural heritage.

From June 19 to July 28, 1978, UNESCO sponsored a program in cooperation with ICOMOS, the International Council on Monuments and Sites, for exchanging urban planning specialists in Europe. UNESCO has repeatedly suggested that these programs are designed in part to carry out the Helsinki Final Act recommendations to encourage exchanges among specialists in the preservation of historical sites. UNESCO sponsored another program in 1978 which included five weeks of lectures and field work.

During a trip to Poland in 1980, Miel Smets, the permanent representative for culture in the Department of Art Patronomy in the Belgian province of Limburg, visited a number of historical buildings in Malbork, Elblach and Frombork and consulted with specialists at the University of Torun for restoration work in Belgium. Polish specialists agreed to work in Bokrijk, Alden Biesen, the Beguinage in St. Truiden and a castle in Rijkel. While in Belgium, the experts conducted courses in restoration technique for Belgian specialists.

The Polish State Workshop for Conservation of Cultural Property (PKZ) has maintained active contacts with specialists in the West; the PKZ carries out projects of restoration in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Luxembourg, Italy, and France.

In June 1982, the Ministry of Inter-German Affairs of the F.R.G. announced the signing of an agreement for the exchange of architectural exhibitions among East Berlin, Karl Marx Stadt, Magdeburg, and Hamburg. On September 13, 1982, an exhibition arranged by Munich architect Hermann Grub on "Recreational Area in the City" opened in East Berlin and later in Karl Marx Stadt and Magdeburg. The exhibition focused on the problems of inner city renewal and inner city recreation in Munich and Nurnberg.

# CHAPTER XII

## BASKET III: EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION AND EXCHANGES

### Introduction

"Desiring to strengthen the links among educational and scientific establishments and also to encourage their cooperation in sectors of common interest," the participating states recognized in the Final Act the importance of facilitating educational exchanges to the development of interstate relations and mutual understanding. The Helsinki Final Act's political sanction of cooperation in the field of education played a prominent role in facilitating contacts and communications among educational institutions and the conclusion of agreements between academic institutions. The Final Act's various recommendations in this field include the exchange of information about each signatory's academic facilities, courses, scholarships programs and degrees; the exchange of scientific information and materials; cooperation in the study of foreign languages and civilizations through exchanges of resources and the development of specialized programs; the exchange of experience in teaching methods, at all levels of education, through comparative or joint studies; and the exchange of information on teaching methods and teaching materials.

The Helsinki Final Act has played an important and influential role in facilitating U.S. educational cooperation and exchanges with Eastern Europe. Initially, the Final Act ensured ripe conditions for bilateral cultural exchange agreements with Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria; these agreements contained specific provisions to authorize official research and lecturer exchanges through the USIA-administered Fulbright program. Secondly, the Helsinki Final Act legitimized academic administrators' aspirations to negotiate exchange agreements and to expand existing programs. After 1975, representatives from several leading American universities, teaching facilities, and research institutes were able to negotiate exchange agreements with Eastern Europe. Among all the fields covered in Basket III, American educational cooperation and exchanges with Eastern Europe have most directly and tangibly benefited from the Helsinki Final Act. According to Joseph Duffey, former Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, the Helsinki Final Act "confirmed, on a high political level, the legitimacy of these programs which we have conducted over the past twenty years."

The West European experience also reflects the utility of CSCE in promoting educational cooperation and exchanges with Eastern Europe although, since most activity in this field takes place in the private sector, the information in this area available to the Commission through Western government sources was limited. Given the lack of a central repository of information and the unfeasibility of polling individual European academic institutions, this chapter necessarily focuses on the United States although illustrative examples of specific European activities are occasionally cited.

## Exchange Programs

Two major American academic exchange programs, Fulbright, a lecturer-oriented exchange of post-doctoral scholars financed by the U.S. Government, and IREX, the largest private research-oriented exchange program with Eastern Europe, have been most affected by the inclusion in the Final Act of provisions on educational exchange and cooperation. These provisions enhanced conditions for increased and more balanced academic exchanges.

### International Research and Exchanges Board

When the Helsinki Final Act was signed in 1975, the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) had already been in existence for seven years. Nevertheless, the workings of IREX and the Helsinki process have been very much interrelated. While the IREX programs have derived many benefits from the Helsinki Final Act, they have also ensured its implementation by serving as a mechanism through which the U.S. can fulfill its Basket III commitments on educational exchanges.

The American Council for Learned Sciences (ACLS) created IREX in 1968 as an apparatus through which academic exchange programs between the United States and the Soviet Union could be administered and as an agency to advocate reciprocity in advanced research with socialist countries. IREX, therefore, is a semi-autonomous organization -- many of its activities are independent -- but it is also an integral part of the ACLS. IREX's official duties include administering the ACLS exchange program of senior scholars with the Soviet Academy of Sciences, as well as overseeing independent exchanges of junior and senior scholars with Eastern Europe. IREX also provides field access, support services and developmental expertise to American academic, business and government specialists. IREX policies are supervised by representatives from ACLS, the Social Science Research Council, and by the 140-member universities that host IREX scholars.

As the largest academic exchange program with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, IREX has directly experienced the positive impact of the Final Act commitment "to expand and improve, at various levels, cooperation and links in fields of education and science." The fields of study among American scholars at Soviet universities and Soviet scholars at American universities have seen a greater reciprocity since the signing of the Final Act. In general, before 1975, Soviet scholars were more inclined to pursue research in the fields of science and technology, whereas American scholars concentrated on Russian language, history and literature research projects.

After the political leverage that the Helsinki Final Act provided in the area of reciprocity in academic exchanges, this disparity has been somewhat leveled. Whereas prior to the Helsinki Agreement about 90 percent of Soviet participants were scientists or engineers, after 1975, this percentage decreased to about 60 percent. At the same time, more Americans involved in science-related research were placed in Soviet universities.

The Helsinki Final Act also helped IREX to redress unwarranted Soviet rejection of American scholars. Before 1975, it had been the policy of IREX to seek quiet redress for Soviet refusals so as not to provoke the Soviets into a possible outright rejection of all exchanges. But the Helsinki Final Act added substance and credibility to IREX's efforts, thus enabling IREX to exert additional pressure on the Soviets. According to IREX Director Allen H. Kassof, "the Helsinki Accords, while neither binding nor definitive, do provide a reference point for negotiating improved conditions for scholarly communication."

Finally, the Helsinki Final Act may have aided IREX in its on-going quest for funding. In order to facilitate scholarly exchanges, the Final Act encouraged "the award of scholarships for study, teaching and research" to scholars, teachers and students. Since the signing of the Final Act, both private and government contributions to scholarly exchange programs have increased absolutely. U.S. Government funding for IREX programs increased from $850,000 in fiscal year 1976 to $1,009,277 in 1978 and to $1,735,000 in 1983. In the private sector, the roster of sponsored donations to IREX expanded from two foundations before 1975 to 11 in 1982. Presently comprising about 43 percent of the total budget of about $2.5 million, the increase in the percentage of funds provided by private foundations indicates a greater interest in and involvement with IREX activities.

The ACLS-Soviet Academy of Sciences Joint Commission on Humanities and Social Sciences held its first meeting from March 12-14, 1975 organized under the protocol of the bilateral cultural agreement reached in June 1973. During this meeting, Soviet and American administrators advocated an expansion of academic contacts and collaboration in the social sciences, humanities and sciences. Since that time, the ACLS-Soviet Academy of Sciences commission has sponsored a number of colloquia and fora. The commission's early activities include a major Soviet-American colloquium on a comparative analysis of slavery and serfdom at Stanford University in August 1975; an April 1976 symposium on editorial and textual principles involved in editing literature at Indiana University; and the first Soviet-American symposium on "General Problems in Anthropology" in Washington, D.C. in October 1977.

More recent activities include: a June 1981 conference on the "Place of Latin America in World Politics" in Moscow; the first colloquium on "World Labor and Social Change" at the State University of New York in Binghamton in August 1980; and from June 16-18, 1982, the first U.S.-U.S.S.R. conference on East

Asian Studies entitled "The 17th Century in China: Recent Findings and Viewpoints on the late Ming and early Ch'ing Dynasties in History, Literature, and the Social Sciences" in Moscow. Also in January 1983, the first "Conference on Theoretical Problems of International Relations" was held in Moscow. In June 1984, the Soviet Academy of Sciences renewed the accord for an exchange of senior scholars with the ACLS. Although by no means an exhaustive list of the various IREX activities since 1975, these major collaborative efforts illustrate IREX's programs and demonstrate the balanced, reciprocal nature of exchanges and meetings in the social sciences and humanities conducted since the signing of the Final Act.

Among IREX activities with other East European countries, the three-year agreement negotiated in Sofia on February 3, 1978 between IREX and the Bulgarian State Committee for Science and Technical Progress enabled IREX to nominate ten scholars to the Slavonic Studies Seminar instead of the previous eight. In June 1978, a major conference on Bulgarian studies involving some 20 American scholars and a larger number of Bulgarian counterparts was held in Varna. This conference, organized by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, was a follow up to the first American-Bulgarian conference of Bulgarists held at the University of Wisconsin in Madison in May 1975. IREX also sponsored eight Bulgarian academics at a symposium in April 1981 held at Duquesne University on the culture and history of the Bulgarian people.

IREX embarked upon the first program of exchanges with the G.D.R. in the academic year 1975-1976 and the signed agreement made specific reference to the Helsinki Final Act. For the first time, in April 1978, a delegation of East German experts of higher education commenced a three-week tour of U.S. universities. In October of that year, an East German delegation of experts in higher education had a highly successful three-week tour of the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, New Jersey and leading U.S. universities. A visit in May 1981 by Dr. Gunter Heidorn and Dr. Manfred Nast of the Ministry of Higher and Technical Education culminated in the signing of a new two-year agreement. Moreover, the IREX-G.D.R. Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences held its first meeting from June 28-29, 1982 in East Berlin, to plan systematic cooperation in several areas, including museum studies, and methods of rehabilitation of the handicapped. Also under the auspices of the IREX-GDR binational commission, Dr. Robert Greenberg of the University of North Carolina pursued research at Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University in Greifswald in March 1984. As a result of his research, Dr. Greenberg submitted an article, "Maternal and Child Health Services Policy" for publication in the G.D.R. Journal of Public Health Policy. In addition, a group of American and East German scholars at these two universities are currently completing a publication entitled "Educational Rehabilitation of Handicapped Persons in the U.S. and the G.D.R.," which will be released simultaneously in both countries.

Joint commissions are natural outgrowths of years of contacts and exchanges, and while their activities are not replacements for direct exchange programs, they play an increasingly significant role in the enrichment of scholarly perspectives. In June 1978, the ACLS and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences agreed to establish a "Commission on the Humanities and Humanistic Aspects of the Social Sciences." IREX Director Kassof described this as a "major breakthrough," similar in significance to the establishment of the ACLS-Soviet Academy of Sciences Joint Commission on Humanities and Social Sciences. At the first meeting of the ACLS-Hungarian Academy of Sciences Commission in September 1979 in Budapest, a joint statement was signed by the president of the ACLS and the secretary general of the Hungarian Academy calling for a total of nine projects over three years in the fields of comparative literature, history, ethnography/folklore, linguistics and social psychology. IREX also co-sponsored two conferences that academic year: a meeting between U.S. and Hungarian economists was held in Cambridge, Massachusetts in May 1980 and the third conference of U.S. and Hungarian legal scholars was held in Budapest in June 1980. Papers from both conferences were later published. In March 1982, IREX held a "Roundtable Conference on the Hungarian Economy and East-West Economic Relations," at Bloomington, Indiana. This forum marked the largest gathering of Hungarian economists outside of Hungary. The second meeting of the joint commission in April 1983 in Princeton, New Jersey initialed plans for a joint project in sociology.

In October 1981, IREX and the Polish Academy of Sciences established a Joint Commission on the Social Sciences and Humanities, and produced an an agenda for collaboration in art history, economics, psychology, philosophy, anthropology, archeology, political science, law and comparative literature.

Furthermore, in 1979, IREX inaugurated a "Public and Cultural Affairs Program" to provide current and significant information on Eastern Europe to American non-academic professional audiences. Research findings occasionally published by IREX scholars have been shared at roundtables, seminars, and meetings with policy makers in government and business.

## Fulbright Program

Originally proposed in 1946 by former Senator J. William Fulbright to authorize the use of funds from the sale of American surplus war property to finance advanced research, graduate study, university lecturing and teaching in elementary and secondary schools for U.S. citizens and foreign nationals, the Fulbright program was formalized through the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, known as the Fulbright-Hays Act. This program is now under the stewardship of the United States Information Agency (USIA) and is administered through U.S. Embassies abroad or, in those 40 countries that have executive agreements with the U.S., through binational educational commissions and foundations. About 120 countries participate each year and the Fulbright's program annual budget is $50 million. Most East European Fulbright scholarships are awarded to lecturers; these grants extend to Bulgaria, Czecholsovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union.

The first U.S.-Bulgarian bilateral agreement in 1977 paved the way for an expansion of the Fulbright program of exchanges. In April 1977, improved cultural relations enabled poet John Balaban and Professor Christopher Given, Fulbright scholars who had previously lectured in Romania, to travel to the University of Sofia and deliver lectures to literature students there. The trip marked the first time Fulbright lecturers had been invited to Bulgaria since the 1960s. The June 1977 bilateral agreement enabled a reciprocal exchange of one Fulbright lecturer annually and, upon the renewal of the bilateral agreement in 1979, this exchange of lecturers doubled from one to two annually on each side. In 1982, three Americans traveled to Bulgaria under the Fulbright Program while four Bulgarians traveled to the United States. The 1983 protocol called for an exchange of two university lecturers for a full academic year, as well as scholarships for several specialists to conduct research in a wide range of academic disciplines. Three Bulgarian researchers were accepted to come to the United States from 1982 to 1984, and a student component is expected to be added to the next bilateral agreement.

Fulbright exchanges with Czechoslovakia have also improved in the wake of the Helsinki Final Act. For the first time since 1968, Czechoslovak officials accepted a lecturer to teach English at Charles University in Brno from 1982-1983, and have continued to renew this commitment. Also, from 1979-1980, an American literature student from the United States was accepted at Charles University for one year of study, while a Czechoslovak professor of art lectured at Williams College during the first half of 1979. In the academic year 1983-1984, three Americans and five Czechoslovaks received Fulbright grants.

The first two Hungarian lecturers under the Fulbright program traveled to the United States in 1977. Since that time, the Fulbright program with Hungary has increased slightly, with one to two university lecturers coming to the U.S., first for a semester each year and, as of the 1984-1985 academic year, for an entire academic year. A provision for one research scholar was added to the 1982-1983 protocol. USIA officials hope to coordinate a reciprocal exchange of three to four university lecturers during the negotiations for the next bilateral exchange agreement.

Although no improvements since the signing of the Final Act in the Romanian Fulbright exchange program can be discerned, the Polish Fulbright exchange has continued despite the downturn in relations since the imposition of martial law, and has slowly progressed since the first exchanges in 1960.

## University-to-University Programs

Universities in the United States and Eastern Europe have been the beneficiaries of the Helsinki Final Act's recommendation that the participating states facilitate and expand mutually advantageous academic exchanges, and have been instrumental in implementing the Final Act provisions on educational cooperation. The following section describes in chronological order -- and country by country -- some of the joint programs between American universities and their counterparts in Eastern Europe since 1975.

The Final Act undoubtedly inspired university-to-university exchanges with the Soviet Union. On October 4, 1976, Moscow State University (MSU) and the State University of New York (SUNY) signed an agreement for a continuing exchange of students and faculty. This was the first U.S.-U.S.S.R. university-to-university exchange agreement for faculty and graduate students, although the program for undergraduate students had been in existence since 1974. At present, the SUNY-MSU program is the largest ongoing reciprocal exchange of university students and faculty. Over a ten-year period, ten advisors and 99 American students have participated in the program; 48 faculty and 66 graduate Soviet students have traveled to Albany since the original agreement was reached. Discussions between SUNY, the Maurice Thorez Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow and the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Education from April to May 1984, resulted in the signing of a second formal exchange agreement on May 24, 1984. These three leading institutes reaffirmed their long-standing commitment to maintain their program of exchanges. From May 24-26, 1984, SUNY, the Inter-University Center for European Studies at Canada's McGill University, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences sponsored the first international conference on "19th Century Agrarian Social Structure" in Montreal.

Also in 1976, Moscow State University established a council to create a center for American Studies. From March 15-17, 1976, the first joint U.S.-Soviet "Seminar on Problems of Higher Education" took place at the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, New Jersey. In conjunction with this seminar, an American delegation of educators traveled to the Soviet Union in October 1976.

On May 20, 1977, the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA) -- comprised of seven midwestern universities -- and Moscow State University signed a formal agreement to exchange up to ten senior faculty members each year for teaching and research. MUCIA's Director of International Education William Flinn described the program as highly successful, as evidenced by the fact that the original agreements have been renewed every year. At first, the program chiefly focused on agricultural studies, but over the years, the exchange curriculum has become more diversified. According to Director Flinn, the American scholars who have researched in the Soviet Union have had good access to archives, and have been warmly received by Soviet officials. In light of the program's continuing successes, MUCIA exchanged 12 faculty members in the 1983-1984 academic year; Flinn hopes to increase the number of participating scholars in the future.

Ever since the spring of 1977, the University of Lowell in Massachusetts has sponsored an annual reciprocal exchange program of six faculty with Tblisi State University in Soviet Georgia. Participating Americans have encountered no problems while studying abroad, according to Professor Shirley Kolack, who noted that the Georgian hosts have been especially cooperative with Lowell research faculty.

On November 29 and December 1, 1978, a delegation of specialists in primary and secondary education from the Soviet Ministry of Education attended a USIA-sponsored seminar on comparative practices in education-related psychological research at the University of California at Los Angeles.

In January 1980, the University of Missouri in Kansas City reached an agreement with Moscow State University that enabled a reciprocal exchange of two American faculty-researchers to the Soviet Union in the spring of 1983, and two Soviet faculty to the United States in the spring of 1984. Director Jean Trani was optimistic for the future of this program; currently under review is an agreement between the University of Missouri and Karl Marx University in Budapest.

In December 1980, the first in a series of annual conferences, sponsored by the ACLS-Soviet Academy of Sciences Joint Commission, between Soviet and American scholars convened at the University of Pennsylvania'a Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI). Approximately ten Soviet and ten American scholars participate annually in these conferences which explore issues of arms control and nuclear strategy, regional conflicts, and Soviet-American relations. The most recent meeting took place from July 3-5, 1984. According to Dr. Nils H. Wessell, Director of the FPRI, the Helsinki process, and the process of detente, facilitated such contacts. Dr. Wessell indicated that Basket I issues, such as the expansion of confidence-building measures and respect for human rights, are raised regularly by the American participants. In April 1981, George Washington University's Sino-Soviet Center organized a joint Soviet-American conference on "Asia and the Pacific" in Moscow.

In December 1983, Grinnell College in Iowa sponsored a program whereby a group of students traveled to the Soviet Union for a three-week study tour, after which they were enrolled in a semester of intensive coursework in Soviet culture, language and politics courses at Grinnell. From August 12-16, 1984, Portland State University in Oregon sponsored a special travel-study seminar in the Soviet Union for 15 undergraduate students.

In March 1977, two prominent Bulgarian historians participated in a two-day conference at the University of Vermont on the centennial of Bulgarian independence. They discussed strengthening ties between the newly-established International Information Center for Balkan Studies in Sofia and interested American institutions. These talks resulted in the signing of a cooperative agreement. In 1978, the first Bulgarian music student began five months of piano study at the Julliard School in New York City.

A formal agreement between Sofia University and the University of Pittsburgh was signed in December 1978, authorizing a modest reciprocal exchange. As a result of this agreement, American historians, mathematicians and engineers have been able to pursue research in Bulgaria. In 1982, the Bulgarian Government announced its intention to establish a Bulgarian chair at Ohio State University. Initial funding has begun for this chair of Bulgarian language, literature and culture.

An agreement between the Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore and the Bulgarian Ministries of Education and of Science and Technology enabled one scholar to study at Johns Hopkins in each of the last two academic years.

In the post-Helsinki era, educational cooperation with Czechoslovakia improved with the extension of Fulbright scholarships to Czechoslovakia, but no direct agreements have been made. In 1978, the first Czechoslovak lecturer in the United States taught Slavic languages at the University of Virginia. Also, IREX scholars from Czechoslovakia currently study at the University of Nebraska.

The signing of the Helsinki Final Act closely followed the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the G.D.R. Therefore, progress in educational exchanges can be best determined from these two major events, which set the groundwork for educational cooperation. IREX grants to American scholars enabled them to explore academic exchange programs with East Germany and led to several university-to-university agreements.

On November 19, 1979, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Wilhelm Pieck Univeristy at Rostock, and Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University at Greifswald signed a memorandum of understanding for an exchange program for faculty and scholars, whereby two researchers would study in the G.D.R. and two would study at the University of North Carolina. Topics for study include educational methodology in health care, social science and medical research, neo-natal care, recreational therapy, and epidemiology.

On September 14, 1979 in Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University and Wilhelm Pieck University of Rostock agreed to exchange seven to eight students for the academic year 1980-1981. This was the largest direct academic exchange between the United States and the G.D.R. Presently ten to 12 faculty and students participate in the summer, semester or year abroad programs. According to the director of this exchange and dean of foreign study programs at Brown University, Professor Duncan Smith, East German administrators referred to the Helsinki Agreement during the negotiations for these reciprocal exchanges and view the program to be very much in the spirit of detente. Based upon the continuing success of this exchange, Brown University and Wilhelm Pieck University have agreed to sponsor from three to six Brown students and faculty for three-week intensive instruction each summer at Rostock. Moreover, as a result of the collaborative research conducted at Wilhelm Pieck and Brown Universities, a joint publication was released in the G.D.R. in the fall of 1983. In June 1984, a conference on "Literature and Society" was held in Rostock, with three American and four East German participants, and a follow up conference was to be held in January 1985.

On April 18, 1979, Kent State University in Ohio signed an agreement with Karl Marx University in Leipzig that has enabled about 15 to 20 faculty members in several disciplines to travel both ways. Dr. Mark Rubin, associate director of the Center for International and Comparative Programs at Kent State, and Dr. Robert W. Clawson, the director, agreed that "the Helsinki Agreement, in a general way, has greatly facilitated scholarly exchanges. The East Europeans have been using the Helsinki Agreement as leverage in order to participate in these exchanges." In the estimation of Drs. Rubin and Clawson, both institutions have benefited from these exchanges.

On November 30, 1980, Humboldt University Rector Helmut Klein and the University of Minnesota's President C. Peter Magrath signed an agreement that enabled, over a two-year period, an exchange of three faculty from Humboldt University to travel to the Minnesota campus, and one U.S. professor to spend three months at Humboldt University. In addition, two Humboldt University faculty attended a surgical conference at the University of Minnesota Medical School during August 1984.

In December 1982, Rector Helmut Klein of Humboldt University in East Berlin and Dr. Steven Muller, president of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore signed an exchange agreement which has enabled nearly 40 graduate students and faculty members from both universities to participate in programs during the school year and in the summer.

Dr. Eniko Molnar Basa, president of the American Hungarian Educators Association (AHEA), a professional and scholarly organization devoted to the teaching, dissemination, and research of Hungarian culture in the United States, asserts that the Helsinki Final Act helped to expedite U.S.-Hungarian educational exchanges because it galvanized private and public interest in both opportunities for and information about cultural and educational exchanges. In November 1975, immediately following the signing of the Final Act, the AHEA held its first annual bilateral conference on Hungarian studies. These conferences, which have been held every year since, provide a forum for scholarly contacts, as well as the opportunity for workshops and discussion groups devoted to topics of special interest. Examples of AHEA-sponsored conferences include a May 18-20, 1979 symposium on "Transylvania" at Kent State University and a conference in 1981 on "The Effects of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956" held at Brooklyn College, New York. From May 3-6, 1984, the executive director of the International Association for Hungarian Studies in Budapest participated in the ninth annual AHEA conference entitled, "Hungary and the Hungarians: Accomplishments and Prospects," marking the first time a Hungarian official attended these meetings.

Under an agreement signed in Budapest during June 1979, Indiana University and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences have endowed a chair of Hungarian Studies within the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies at Indiana. The chair was inaugurated during the 1980-1981 academic year, and has been functioning since that time. Indiana University frequently sponsors conferences on relevant Hungarian topics; their most recent meeting was held in April 1984.

In addition, in 1982, both the University of Indiana and the University of Connecticut sponsored a consortium in Hungary with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences that covered economic and historical topics. Twenty U.S. graduate students participated in the first consortium; another consortium is being planned for 1985.

Professor Rudolf Tokes, Director of International Programs at the University of Connecticut, suggests that the Helsinki Final Act has been "central" to all educational exchanges. In September 1983, the University of Connecticut initiated an exchange with Karl Marx University in Budapest in economics and agricultural economics. Also, the University of Connecticut awarded a scholarship to a student from the Radio and TV Mass Communication Research Institute in Hungary to study at the University of Connecticut in the fall of 1984.

During 1983, Columbia University in New York announced that, with the help of a private foundation's endowment, it would establish the East European Fellowship Program, whereby four Hungarian scholars would conduct research in the social sciences at Columbia University.

An agreement concluded on June 15, 1983 between the International Cultural Institute in Budapest and Interfuture, a New York-based, non-profit organization that organizes intensive training programs for undergraduate students overseas, enables selected undergraduates from American colleges and universities to design and carry out independent study projects in Hungary, and an equal number of Hungarian young scholars to conduct research in the United States. As a result of this agreement, one student will travel to Hungary in the spring of 1985, and one Hungarian is expected to conduct research in the United States in the fall of 1985.

U.S.-Polish cultural and educational exchanges have existed for several decades because a large Polish-American population supports summer, year-abroad, and medical school programs in Poland through such private organizations as the Kosciuszko Foundation. For example, Alliance College in Camp Springs, Pennsylvania has sponsored an undergraduate exchange program with Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland since 1971, when a formal agreement enabled a reciprocal exchange of three to six students per year. Jagiellonian students spend one year at Alliance College and study the English language, and in return, graduates of Alliance College are granted scholarships to matriculate at Jagiellonian University for one year of studies in either Polish language or East European business and economy.

In the spring of 1974, Goshen College in Indiana signed an exchange agreement with Warsaw Agricultural University. This agreement outlined three types of exchanges for students and faculty members. Under the agreement, approximately 23 American students annually attended Warsaw Agricultural University and studied history, agriculture, sociology and science for 14 weeks. Although this particular exchange was discontinued five or six years ago, another provision has enabled, over the years, a few American students to teach English at Warsaw Agricultural University for a trimester, and a continual exchange of professors for three-week periods. Based upon an agreement signed in the summer of 1974 between the University of Florida in Gainesville, and the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Poland, three to 20 Americans and four to 15 Poles annually participate in this exchange program of undergraduates, graduate students and faculty.

The Final Act facilitated initial negotiations among university officials for exchange programs. In August 1975, occurring simultaneously with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the University of Kansas inaugurated an exchange program with Warsaw University in Poland. Every year since, approximately six to eight graduate students and two to three faculty, on a reciprocal basis, pursue research at each other's campuses in the sciences, social sciences and humanities.

In October 1975, Indiana University signed an agreement with Warsaw University to establish an American Studies Center in Warsaw University, which began formal operations in October 1976, and has since served over 150 Polish undergraduate and graduate students majoring in American studies at Polish universities. Correspondingly, a Polish Studies Center opened at Indiana University in Bloomington in the fall of 1977. Since that time and despite fluctuations in the political relations between Poland and the U.S., the two centers have sponsored a reciprocal exchange each year of two graduate students and two faculty members. According to Grace Bareikis, director of the Office for International Programs at Indiana University, American scholars studying in Poland have had no problems with regard to access to archives or library materials. Director Bareikis suggested that the acceptance of the Helsinki principles may have induced the Polish government to agree initially to these exchanges.

In 1976, Lock Haven State College in Pennsylvania signed a reciprocal agreement with Marie Curie Sklodovska University (MCSU) in Lublin under which approximately ten Lock Haven undergraduates participate in intensive courses on Polish language, history, and culture at the Lublin campus each year. In exchange, MCSU sends approximately ten faculty to Lock Haven, other campuses of the University of Pennsylvania system, and to campuses of the University of Massachusetts system to study and conduct lectures. According to Professor Lawrence T. Farley of Lock Haven State College, the Helsinki Final Act made the creation of the Lock Haven-MCSU exchange possible. During that period of decreased tensions between East and West, the program, in Farley's estimation, was "pressed through the door." Once established, Farley asserts, the program has been insulated from the changing political climate because of its size and independence with regard to funding. Moreover, the programs have progressed smoothly since the beginning. In fact, a former participant in the Lock Haven exchange is currently rector of the Marie Curie Sklodovska University. In total, 80 faculty members have been received in the U.S. and nearly 100 American undergraduates have traveled to Poland since the program's inauguration.

On March 22, 1977, Kent State University in Ohio and Warsaw University signed an agreement to exchange two to four pre-doctoral and post-doctoral faculty members and students in a variety of fields beginning with the 1977-78 academic year. In the program's incipient stages, only one student was exchanged each year, but Kent State officials expect three students from Warsaw University to arrive this fall, and three Kent State students to matriculate at Warsaw University.

Beginning in the fall of 1978, the University of Pittsburgh sponsored three joint conferences with Polish-affiliated academic institutions, the Krakow Academy of Economics and the Polish Institute of International Affairs. These conferences are an outgrowth of an institutional relationship that dates to a 1971 agreement for the reciprocal exchange of scholars. The September 1978 conference in Poland focused on "The Polish Economy," while the University of Pittsburgh hosted a conference in the fall of 1980 on "East-West Trade." In 1981, a conference entitled "A Comparison of Industrialization of Pittsburgh and Krakow" was held in Krakow and the research presented at this meeting was later published. In addition, since the summer of 1977, the University of Pittsburgh has sent philologists to study at the Pedagogical University of Bydgoszcz; this on-going collaborative project will be transferred in 1985 to Lodz. The exchange of philologists has resulted in joint publications of articles, presentations during lecture series, and ongoing joint workshops on related topics.

In November 1978, the University of Washington signed a formal agreement with Warsaw University, which has been renewed several times, most recently in December 1983. Under the terms of the agreement, each year, professors from both universities pursue research in a wide range of subjects. Since 1981, nine Polish professors have traveled to the University of Washington and at least 12 American professors from the University of Washington have visited Warsaw University.

In October 1979, Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan signed an agreement with Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland for an exchange of faculty, students and library material and for jointly-sponsored conferences. Ten to 12 Wayne State students attend Jagiellonian's summer program on Polish language and culture each year. In May 1978, the first joint conference on "Polish Emigration to the United States" was held in Detroit and the second conference, in Krakow, during June 1980 focused on "The Making of America." Since the fall of 1979, a Jagiellonian instructor in Polish language lectures at Wayne State University every year, and a jointly written textbook on the Polish language, which will be printed in Poland and distributed in the United States will be released during the 1984-85 academic year. Currently under negotiation is an effort to secure works of art now on display at the Jagiellonian University Museum for their American debut at the Wayne State University Museum during the 1985-86 academic year.

Begun in March 1980, the University of Connecticut-Jagiellonian University academic exchange program has enabled from ten to 15 American students to enroll at the summer session of Jagiellonian University in Krakow. In return, the University of Connecticut receives two visiting professors. Due to the success of the exchange, the program has grown steadily over the years and, for the 1984-1985 academic year, the University of Connecticut plans to expand the program by hosting two graduate student linguists, as well as the head of Jagiellonian's mechanical engineering program.

On November 26, 1980, the University of Pennsylvania and Jagiellonian University signed an agreement to exchange students, senior scholars, and publications. Visits sponsored under the program, however, have since declined. But since 1981, the University of Pennsylvania has sponsored a program with the Adam Mickiewicz School in Poznan. Each year, the University of Pennsylvania brings a lecturer from Poland to the University of Pennsylvania's Law School.

According to Dr. Norma Loeser, dean of the School of Government and Business Administration at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., the Helsinki Agreement helped to establish contacts with Polish academics, and encouraged both the American and Polish sides to coordinate exchanges. Since 1975, a number of Polish educators have traveled to the United States and, on March 28, 1980, Warsaw University Rector Zygmut Rybicki visited the Washington campus and concluded an exchange agreement with George Washington University's School of Management Science. The agreement lapsed after the imposition of martial law in Poland.

In general, educational cooperation and exchanges with Romania pre-date the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Since 1972, Columbia University's Institute for East and Central Europe has co-sponsored the "Iorga" Romanian Chair. In 1976, Johns Hopkins University and the Institute of Civil Engineering in Bucharest signed a direct exchange agreement for an exchange of scholars in urban planning. After the agreement was reached, in 1977, a seven-day Fellows Conference was held in Bucharest. Afterwards, Romanian scholars enrolled at Johns Hopkins University for a semester during the 1977-1978 academic year. In addition, one Johns Hopkins graduate student pursued research in Bucharest for her dissertation. Although the two Institutes maintain formal working relations, the exchange program has been discontinued.

In April 1977, seven Romanian scholars attended a meeting at Ohio State University on the centennial of Romanian independence. The group subsequently visited other U.S. universities and academic centers and attended a symposium on Romanian history in Detroit.

According to Professor William Brazill, Director of International Exchanges at Wayne State University, the Helsinki Agreement not only created a better atmosphere but also provided an opportunity for leading Romanian educational institutions to make contacts with Wayne State. In July 1979, Wayne State University signed an agreement with Babes-Boylai University in Cluj for an exchange of faculty, students, library materials and the organization of conferences. In addition to an annual exchange of graduate students, Wayne State University has co-sponsored three conferences. In an unique arrangement between the two universities, publications are exchanged on a reciprocal basis. Wayne State University has been able to build up a substantial collection of Romanian works as a result. In return, the university librarian has microfiched the entire Wayne State collection of books and periodical journals so that when Romanian researchers find citations to periodicals, they can request publications from the microfiche index, thereby saving the enormous costs of purchasing entire periodical collections, but also having important access to the entire collection of American scholarly literature.

## The European Experience

The post-Helsinki era has been marked by an expansion of educational contacts between Western and Eastern Europe. Officials from the Federal Republic of Germany have noted that while bilateral exchanges supported by the Deutsche Forshungs-Gemeinschaft (German Research Community) from 1980-83 indicate mixed results, exchanges during the same time period between the F.R.G. and Hungary and Czechoslovakia showed a consistent increase. The same officials said that a continued increase in higher education partnerships between the FRG and Poland from 1976 through 1983 was evident.

French Government officials reported "a slight quantitative and qualitative progress in exchanges with the Eastern Bloc countries." Specifically, improvements of working conditions for French teachers in Bulgaria made in 1981 were noted, along with an increase in inter-university agreements with Hungary. Exchanges between France and the German Democratic Republic increased from 1977 onward, and were characterized, according to French officials, by "improvements in access to documentation in 1979 and contacts between the embassy and establishments of higher education in 1980." Until 1982, there was an increase in exchanges between France and Poland, with liberal access to documentation and free movement inside Poland. Easy movement within Czechoslovakia for French scholars was also noted, although the French also mentioned a "tendency to shorten the duration of training sessions."

In June 1982, a delegation of French academics from the University of Grenoble visited Martin Luther University in the German Democratic Republic and signed a working plan for scientific cooperation between the two institutes for the years 1983-85. A month prior to this, the French Minister of Education met for several days in Leipzig with the G.D.R. Minister of Education for discussions described as helping to "further the development of cooperation in the area of education of both countries."

Educational exchanges involving other West European countries and the East European nations are varied and many. Following are several examples of post-Helsinki activity in this field.

In March 1980, Dr. Herbert Seidler, a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the Mixed Literature Commission of the Hungarian and Austrian Academies of Science delivered lectures at the University of Budapest. Dr. Seidler discussed the 18th-century Austrian writer Adalbert Stifter, whose best-known novel, Brigitta, had been translated into Hungarian.

In July 1980, the Dutch Foreign Ministry announced the resumption of an exchange program whereby Dutch students and teachers would study Russian language and literature in Moscow for courses ranging up to a year in length.

In October 1980, the Historical Commission of West Berlin and the Polish Academy of Sciences signed an agreement stipulating the exchange of historians between the two nations.

The "Spirit of Helsinki" was cited by a representative of the Netherlands' Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a June 1981 report by Novosti Press on negotiations in Moscow for further contacts between academic institutes of the two countries, including a new program for exchanges of composers and cultural specialists.

Also in June 1981, it was reported that Dutch language instruction for exchange students at the University of Ghent had been expanded to include, for the first time, Romanian students. Swedish university officials conducted talks in October 1981 on expanding scientific exchanges with the German Democratic Republic.

By far the greatest instances of educational cooperation between European CSCE states are in the field of bilateral and multilateral conferences, colloquia and seminars on a variety of subjects. A sampling of these activities follows.

A medical symposium, attended by 35 Soviet specialists, was held in Munich in May 1979, under the sponsorship of the "Bavarian Society for the Furtherance of the Relationship Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union."

The XIII International Hegel Congress in Belgrade, which was held in late August 1979, featured participants from the Soviet Union, other East European states and West European countries.

Late August was also the time frame of the Sixth International Congress for Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science in Hanover which was attended by representatives from the United States and the Soviet Union.

In September 1979, the Seventh Congress of the International Federation of the Association for Classical Studies was held in Budapest while Basel, Switzerland hosted the Ninth World Congress of the International Association for the Philosophy of Right and Social Philosophy.

Regensburg, F.R.G. was the site of a Polish-West German Symposium on Linguistics in October 1979. Poznan, Poland was the site of a symposium entitled "Peace and Security Education in East and West" featuring 15 Dutch teachers and their Polish counterparts. The Dutch Atlantic Commission, which initiated the meetings, referred to them as "a step in the implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki."

The 25th anniversary of the establishment of the state of Austria was the occasion for a symposium between Soviet and Austrian scientists and historians in April 1980. Also in April 1980, Romanian and West German historians and social scientists met in Bucharest at a symposium dealing with the problems of southeast Europe.

Academicians from Austria, Hungary, the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway and the United States met in June 1980 at Burg Forchtenstein, Austria to participate in the "Grillparzer Forum", at which the works of Grillparzer, an Austrian poet and playwright, were discussed.

Summer 1980 also featured courses and round-table discussions on urbanization at the University of Savaria in Hungary for students from Austria, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, G.D.R., Italy and the Soviet Union.

In October 1980, a jury of three West German university professors and three members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences awarded the Karpinski Prize for Excellence in Natural or Social Sciences to the director of the Hermitage in Leningrad for his work in archeology.

The World Congress of Translators was held in Warsaw in May 1981. The Congress was accompanied by an exhibit devoted to the works of Karl Dedicius, who translated many works of Polish literature into German, and who heads the German-Polish Institute in Darmstadt, Federal Republic of Germany.

In the same month, scholars from Austria, the F.R.G., Czechoslovakia and Poland presented papers at a symposium on the German-American legal philosopher Hans Kelsen. The symposium took place in Graz, Austria.

In August 1981, the First International Congress of Hungarologists was held in Budapest including more than 350 scholars and teachers from 22 countries. The chairman of the International Hungarian Philological Society, Professor Bo Wickmann of Sweden, spoke at the opening session and referred to the importance of the Congress in contributing to the CSCE process.

Romania hosted the International Congress on the History and Philosophy of Science in late August and early September 1981.

In October 1981, a symposium between teachers of the United Kingdom and the German Democratic Republic was held in Erfurt, G.D.R.

In October 1981, the International Meeting of Writers was held in Belgrade. Attendees included writers, critics and translators from the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union, Western and Eastern Europe.

The Joint Hungarian-Austrian Literary Commission held a symposium in April 1982 on the theme "What is Hungarian - What is Austrian?" Die Presse noted that a mixed Commission of Hungarian and Austrian academics had been formed in 1979 to promote research on literary relations between Austria and Hungary, and planned further meetings following the April symposium.

An East German delegation of university rectors met with their Austrian counterparts in Belgrade in May 1982 to "exchange experiences in higher education and explore possibilities for more effective scientific research."

## Access

The Final Act underscored the importance of improving "access, under mutually acceptable conditions, for students, teachers, and scholars of the participating states to each other's educational, cultural and scientific institutions." More specifically, the Final Act called for facilitating exchanges of educational and scholarly information, such as university publications and materials from libraries, granting the opportunity to use relevant scholarly, scientific and open archival materials, and promoting a more exact assessment of the problems of comparison and equivalence of academic degrees and diplomas.

### Institutions and Materials

In accordance with these educational provisions, in 1976, the American Library Association (ALA) and the Soviet Ministry of Culture's library division signed an agreement for an exchange program. In 1978, the ALA hosted a Soviet delegation to discuss the implementation of formal seminars. The first seminar convened in May 1979 in Washington, D.C.

In June 1976, a delegation from the American Historical Association concluded an exchange agreement on the "Application of Quantitative Methods in Historical Research" with the Historical Section of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow. Publications based upon the exchange of archival materials and papers delivered at organized conferences and colloquia were issued in 1983 by Nauka Press in Moscow and Sage Publications in the United States.

Upon the suggestion of UNESCO, European archivists from many signatory countries held a three-day conference in September 1976, to establish an "International Information Center for Balkan Studies" in Sofia, Bulgaria. Meetings to consolidate archival records and sources and to explore the feasibility of using microfilm apparatus convened in Nice in 1978 and in Sofia in 1980. The Balkan center remains open to American and West European scholars.

On October 4, 1976, the National Archives and Records Service of the United States, the Department of State's Historical Office and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars' Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies held formal discussions with the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and the the Main Archival Administration of the Soviet Council of Ministers (GAU) and agreed to exchange archival documents in preparation for a joint publication on the "Development of American-Russian Relations, 1765-1815," a compilation of consular and tourist accounts. Signed in Moscow during a meeting from June 14-22, 1977, the protocol coincided with the U.S.-U.S.S.R. intergovernmental agreement on cultural exchanges for the years 1977-1979, which called for "an exchange of special publications and microfilms between the National Archives of the United States and the Main Archival Administration of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R." After several meetings over a four-year period, this major collaborative work was published and circulated in August 1980.

## Textbooks

Officially launched in December 1977, the "Joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Textbook Project," was designed to analyze and exchange views on each other's history and geography texts and to call attention to discrepancies, distortions, and misrepesentations in each other's historical narratives. According to Professor Howard Mehlinger of Indiana University, the American director of the project, the Helsinki Final Act had a generally positive impact on the general bilateral atmosphere which was conducive to the establishment of this project. On the U.S. side, the Association of American Publishers, the National Council for Social Studies, the Council of Chief of State School Offices, and the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies helped in the research, while government and private sources funded this unique project.

Dr. Ruth Biro of Duquesne University first suggested a work on Hungarian language and culture during a Librarians Conference in Budapest in August 1980, and since that time, the Tankonyvkiado Press in Hungary has contracted to publish her work entitled, English-Hungarian Picture Dictionary of Hungarian Language and Culture for Children. It will be released in March 1985 in Hungary and distributed in the United States.

## Academic Degrees

The Helsinki Final Act recommended to the appropriate international organizations that they "intensify their efforts to reach a generally acceptable solution to the problems of comparison and equivalence between academic degrees and diplomas." As a result of the Final Act's recommendation, this subject has been actively pursued within UNESCO. On December 21, 1979 in Paris, the United States signed, together with the Soviet Union, other East European and most West European CSCE countries, the UNESCO Convention for the Recognition of Studies, Degrees, and Diplomas in Higher Eduction in the Europe Region. It provides standards to enhance the mobility of scholars and students and of professionals who require recognition of higher education credentials. The Convention also acknowledged the importance of facilitating international educational exchanges.

In 1981, the German Democratic Republic and Austria signed agreements recognizing the equality in standards of school diplomas, a step in conformity with the Helsinki pledge to "where feasible (arrive) at the mutual recognition of academic degrees and diplomas..."

## Science

The Final Act's Basket III provision to "broaden and improve cooperation and exchanges in the field of science" refers to educational cooperation in scientific research, fora and conferences. Provisions on scientific cooperation found in Basket II include cooperative agreements, contacts among scientific communities, and joint research projects in the fields of science and technology by such institutions as the National Academy of Sciences and the National Science Foundation, a research-oriented association that receives its funding from the United States Congress. In the realm of the Basket III provisions, various East European signatories, particularly Poland and Hungary, have sponsored medical and scientific research programs for American students.

On November 2, 1976, Iowa State University signed a memorandum of understanding with Warsaw University. Under the terms of the agreement, which was renewed in October 1979, Iowa State sponsored one faculty member and one graduate student from Warsaw's Institute of Zoology per year.

In early 1977, representatives of the State University of New York (SUNY) at Stony Brook and the Krakow Medical Academy met in Warsaw to explore the possibility of an ongoing exchange of medical faculty and students. In May 1977, a memorandum of understanding between the Medical Academy at Krakow and Stony Brook enabled an exchange to begin in October 1978. The agreement called for collaborative, cooperative and scholarly programs in the fields of biomedical research and medical education, an exchange of faculty and young research scholars, a mutual interchange of scholarly publications, and the co-sponsorship of annual conferences. Since that time, 23 faculty members from the Nicolaus Copernicus Academy of Medicine in Krakow have conducted research at various SUNY institutions, and from 1977-1980, 20 SUNY graduates were accepted for medical studies at the Medical Academy of Krakow. During the summer of 1980, two students from SUNY's Medical School completed summer internships in general surgery at Poznan. In addition, Stony Brook hosted two medical exchange conferences: the first, "Use of Immunological Methods to Localize Cell Constituents," was held in Krakow during the fall of 1978; and the second, "Epidemiological Studies of Malignant Diseases," was convened during the spring of 1981.

On August 30, 1977, the University of Pennsylvania Medical School signed an agreement with Semmelweis University in Budapest for collaboration in science and health care research, and for the exchange of publications and research materials. Each year, one or two scholars from the University of Pennsylvania conduct research at Semmelweis University.

On October 9, 1978, the College of Agriculture and Natural Resources at the University of Connecticut and the University of Agricultural Sciences in Godollo, Hungary signed a memorandum of understanding on agricultural research and cooperation that provided for an exchange of 90 students in bio-scientific research during 1982. Since 1979, the University of Connecticut and Semmelweis University have exchanged two dental research and oral biology students per year.

Under an exchange protocol with the Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences in Romania, a scientific exchange program with the University of Nebraska began in 1976 and ran for five years. According to Dr. Norman Tooker, assistant director of International Programs at the University of Nebraska, the Helsinki Final Act may have improved the political climate and thus facilitated scholarly exchanges. In 1977-1978, one pair of scholars plus an administrator's visit was exchanged; in the 1979-1980 academic year, this number increased to two pairs of scholars and an administrative visit.

The University of Connecticut also annually awards a scholarship to a graduate student in either biology or chemistry of Jagiellonian University in Krakow. In return, an American graduate student conducts research at the Krakow Institute. The University of Connecticut-Jagiellonian University exchange has been in existence since March 1980.

## Foreign Languages and Civilizations

The Final Act encourages participating states to promote the teaching and study of foreign languages and civilizations in recognition that such knowledge will lead to greater mutual understanding and, thus, enhance cooperation and security among CSCE states. Specifically, the 35 nations agreed: "to encourage the study of foreign languages and civilizations as an important means of expanding communication among peoples for their better acquaintance with the culture of each country, as well as for the strengthening of international cooperation."

## U.S. Efforts

There has been much activity in this area in the United States since the signing of the Final Act. The Final Act has clearly played an important role in focusing American attention on this issue and has led a series of initiatives in this field. While these initiatives may not be directly related to the bilateral relations of the United States with the countries of Eastern Europe, their potential for improving American knowledge of and attitudes towards these countries is great. A recitation of some of these activities, in chronological order, is, therefore, included here.

As a direct consequence of the Final Act's recommendation to encourage the study of foreign languages and civilizations and at the initiative of then CSCE Commissioner Representative Paul Simon (D-IL), President Carter established the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, which held its inaugural meeting on October 26, 1978. The purpose of this commission was to assess America's need for foreign language and area specialists, recommend academic programs, inform the public of the importance of foreign language study, and decide upon legislation necessary to enact such goals. In addition to hearings and meetings among foreign language experts and educators, the President's Commission published an important work on November 7, 1979 entitled Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capacity which called for a broad and concerted effort by the U.S. Government and the private sector to improve foreign language and international studies in the nation's schools and universities. The report recommended federal grants for university area studies programs, an extension of language proficiency requirements, and privately-sponsored language and international studies training.

The President's Commission set a "dynamic" in motion, according to David Edwards, executive director of the Joint National Committee for Languages, and in turn, this dynamic has produced numerous national and state commission reports, a variety of professional activities, a series of cooperative ventures with other disciplines, considerable media coverage addressing language study, many Congressional and state legislative initiatives, some increased funding, and the passage of laws. As a direct consequence of the Helsinki Final Act, American legislators, policymakers and opinion leaders have devoted serious efforts to improving foreign language study in the United States, and have helped to foster a revival of interest in foreign language study. Moreover, the foreign language profession has begun to organize and demonstrate professional unity in addressing public policy issues. Various pedagogical organizations have called for the incremental strengthening of language programs and the establishment of foreign language requirements. Before the Helsinki Final Act, these attempts were sporadic and isolated suggestions from concerned educators; now reports and legislation are the products of a diverse group of commissions, task forces, and Congressional hearings. According to Edward Scebold, executive director of the American Council for Teaching Foreign Languages (ACTFL), the considerable publicity about this issue has resulted in growing awareness of the problem of declining foreign language study in the United States.

Based upon the Presidential Commission's recommendations, a group of leaders from business, labor, government, education, and the media, on May 15, 1980, formed the National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies to focus public attention on the nation's declining competence in foreign languages and the urgent need for improved understanding of international affairs. The National Council has developed an agenda for the improvement of U.S. performance in overseas markets and in the conduct of foreign affairs through the upgrading of language proficiency and international studies.

The events that ensued indicate the growing interest in foreign language and international civilization studies which had its inspiration and support in the Helsinki Final Act. In March 1981, President Reagan inaugurated an annual National Foreign Language Week and expressed the value and importance of foreign language education. In April 1981, the Council on Learning's Advisory Task Force issued "Education and the World View," a report that included several recommendations to remedy the low level of global understanding among college students as well as specific directives to university campuses on how to internationalize their programs. In September 1981, the Third Annual Lee County, Florida Leadership Seminar drafted a document that received national attention. Entitled "The Sanibel Statement of Principles for a National Multiple Language Policy," the document urged foreign language competency for U.S. citizens.

In October 1981, the European Cultural Foundation and the International Council for Educational Development held a conference in Bellagio, Italy attended by representatives of business, industry, academia, foreign language teachers' associations, research organizations, and governments from eight European countries and the United States. In discussing the status of foreign language and international studies in Europe and the United States, the conferees agreed that, in the face of declining U.S. foreign language and international studies, existing international study programs be evaluated, student and teacher exchanges at the secondary level be expanded, integrated foreign language and international study materials be developed and that a European Council of Foreign Languages and International Studies be established.

In January 1982, the National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies issued the Report of the Task Force on National Manpower Targets for Advanced Research on Foreign Areas, which described the discrepancy between the needs of the public and the private sectors, and the deficiency of specialists with subject knowledge, language proficiency, and field experience to meet these needs.

In March 1982, the American Council for Teaching Foreign Languages' Public Awareness Network Newsletter cited a 1981 Modern Language Association survey which showed that, since 1975, 20 institutions had established or reestablished a foreign language entrance requirement and 49 had established or reestablished a foreign language requirement for a bachelor's degree. Also in March 1982, ACTFL issued a preliminary report on its project entitled "Professional Development in Foreign Language Education: Oral Proficiency Testing and Rating." The project's objective is to train foreign language educators in institutions of higher learning to administer oral proficiency interview tests to foreign language students as a uniform standard to judge and improve competency in oral proficiency of foreign language studies.

From May 19-22, 1982, a national conference on "Professional Priorities: Shaping the Future of Global Education" convened in Easton, Maryland to discuss integrating global perspectives into traditional disciplines, public relations and global education, and second languages as a means to fostering a global perspective. As a result of this conference, participants developed short and long-term goal recommendations for presentation to their professional organizations.

In August 1982, the Oregon Governor's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies submitted its report and a number of recommendations: that foreign language study be provided at elementary, middle and junior high school levels; that the Department of Education develop proficiency testing methods; that colleges and universities require a minimum of two years foreign language study for admission; that international studies majors demonstrate proficiency in a foreign language; that all teacher candidates complete at least two years of foreign language study and one year of international studies, and that international exchange programs and foreign students' enrollment in the state's higher educational institutions be encouraged.

On August 24, 1982, President Reagan signed Public Law 97-241, which doubled the funding for international exchange programs over the next four years, and PL 97-242, an amendment to the Department of Defense Authorization, requiring that the Secretary of Defense conduct a study on the feasability of requiring that all students at U.S. military academies be proficient in at least one foreign language and of giving a bonus to each member of the Armed Forces abroad who is proficient in the language of the country in which he is stationed.

On November 8, 1982, in Washington, the American Council on Education sponsored a conference on "Innovative Curricula in International Studies," which discussed the value of international education in the public and private sectors and various aspects of international studies curricula.

On December 1, 1982, the National Endowment for the Humanities announced a major grant to the University of Pennsylvania to finance a project entitled "Strengthening the Humanities Through Foreign Language and Literature Programs." Through a series of four regional conferences and the establishment of 80 permanent language centers across the country, the grant proposes to increase local responsibility for the quality of professional foreign language activities; to create a mechanism for regional collaboration of secondary and post-secondary foreign language and literature faculty; to improve methods of teaching foreign language reading, writing and critical thinking; and to create a model in foreign languages and literature that could be duplicated. On December 9, 1982, the U.S. Department of Education released its "Goals and Performance Priorities" for 1983, giving priority to foreign language literacy and the development of programs that would strengthen basic and higher level skills. At the U.S. Language Policy Conference held in Chicago in January 1983, the leaders of numerous ethnic organizations recommended government funding for community-based public elementary and secondary schools in ethnic languages, support of foreign language and culture departments at universities, development and publication of curriculum materials in ethnic languages, and the dissemination of information about ethnicity in the United States.

During the third annual National Foreign Language Week in March 1983, the U.S. Department of Education sponsored a program entitled "Excellence in Foreign Language Education." In April 1983, the Business-Higher Education Forum, a group of corporate and university executives, released the report, America's Competitive Challenge: The Need for a National Response, urging federal support for university teaching and research in the fields of foreign language, culture, and sociopolitical institutions.

In May 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education presented the results of its 18-month study entitled A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform. This influential assessment of the American education system recommended a number of reforms, including the requirement that college-bound students take at least two years of a foreign language in high school, and that foreign language study commence at the elementary school level. The report declares that "the study of foreign language introduces students to non-English speaking cultures, heightens awareness and comprehension of one's native tongue, and serves the nation's needs in commerce, diplomacy, defense and education." That same month, the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and

Secondary Education Policy released its report entitled *Making the Grade*. In stressing the country's need for educational improvement, the report maintained that "every American public school student should have the opportunity to acquire proficiency in a second language," and supports federal government sponsorship of a second languge policy through training foreign language teachers.

Released in June 1983, the College Board's *Academic Preparation for College: What Students Need to Know and Be Able to Do*, stresses the importance of foreign language education, and ranks it as one of six basic academic subjects for high school students to pursue. In May 1983, the Massachusetts Board of Regents strengthened foreign language admissions requirements at state colleges and universities, and in June 1983, the State of Iowa enacted new incentives whereby local school districts would receive a $50 grant for each student enrolling in a first-year foreign language course. Also in June 1983, Nebraska's Governor's Task Force on Excellence in Education recommended that all high schools offer at least two years of a foreign language, and that two years of foreign language study be a requisite for high school graduation. The Task Force also reaffirmed the suggestion of the President's Commission on Excellence in Education that foreign language study begin at the elementary level, and that social studies and foreign language curricula be coordinated closely to give students a more global perspective. In July 1983, the Governor of Florida signed a comprehensive educational reform package that included rewards for outstanding high school graduates who complete an advanced program of prescribed studies including four years of a foreign language, two-year foreign language admission requirements for state colleges and universities, and the adoption by each local school district of performance standards for academic programs, including foreign languages for the ninth to 12th grades.

In September 1983, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching released a study entitled *High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America*, which stressed the "centrality of language" and the importance of linking academic curricula to a shifting national and global context. The report, referring to the recent reintroduction of foreign language requirements in many colleges and schools, declared that all students should be proficient in the use of a foreign language, that language studies should begin by the fourth grade at the latest, and that nationwide priorities be set to make standards acceptable and uniform for foreign language study. In October 1983, the Foreign Languages Curriculum Study Committee to the North Carolina Board of Education released a study entitled *Curriculum Study -- Foreign Languages*, recommending that a second language be studied every day for 13 years, that the schools develop methods to increase the efficiency of teaching communications skills, and that a "Year of Foreign Languages" be declared in order to increase public awareness of the importance of foreign language study. On November 4, 1983, representatives from 27 major language associations attended a meeting held by the Joint National Committee for Languages and the National Council on Foreign Languages and International Studies, and adopted a statement on "Language Competence and Cultural Awareness in the United States" that encourages proficiency to a degree of mastery in more than one language.

In December 1983, the National Advisory Board on International Education Programs, commissioned by U.S. Secretary of Education Terrell Bell, released Critical Needs in International Education: Recommendations for Action and designated foreign language and international studies as one of the fundamental components of a sound education. In their report, the National Advisory Board urged state and local school districts to provide all students with the opportunity to learn a second language at the earliest possible level, to infuse an international perspective into basic social studies courses, and to develop certification standards in language competency and knowledge of the respective culture for foreign language teachers. Colleges and universities were urged to adopt language requirements based upon demonstrated proficiency, rather than a number of credit hours. In December 1983, the National Commission on Student Financial Assistance released Signs of Trouble and Erosion: A Report on Graduate Education in America urging a major expansion of federal support to train foreign area specialists.

In January 1984, the Louisiana Board of Elementary and Secondary Education enacted two educational requirements for foreign language study. Also in January 1984, the Utah State Board of Education approved new graduation requirements, including two years of foreign language study, for the class of 1988. On January 27, 1984, the Washington State Board of Education adopted a series of seven "State Language Policy Position Statements," advocating proficiency in a foreign language, early foreign language study, and the study of less commonly taught languages.

These and other on-going state-level initiatives to incorporate foreign language and area studies requirements into basic academic curricula are in conformity with the important goals of the Final Act.

On March 7, 1984, 300 persons active in foreign language policy, attended a luncheon in honor of the fourth annual National Foreign Language Week, and discussed "Language and the National Interest."

In April 1984, the Association of American Universities published a 436-page report for the U.S. Department of Defense entitled Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies, that assessed the current national capabilities for advanced training and research in foreign languages and area studies. The report outlined ways to improve the quality of foreign language studies in five areas -- language competency, area competency, research, campus-based and national organizations, and library and information services. From May 17-19, 1984, a conference on "Global Crossroads: Educating Americans for Responsible Choices," was held in Washington, D.C. This conference brought together over 1,000 representatives of education, business, community, public policy, environment, and international organizations. Among the topics discussed were global education in the classroom, cross cultural communication and international studies.

In May 1984, the U.S. Department of Education released its response to A Nation at Risk, entitled The Nation Responds: Recent Efforts to Improve Education. This follow-up study documents the "tidal wave of school reform which promises to renew American education."

According to Richard Brod, Director of Foreign Languages of the Modern Language Association, Russian language studies at a number of colleges are on the rise, partially fueled by grants at Columbia University's Harriman Institute and Harvard University's Russian Research Center. For example, in 1984, Boston University inaugurated a Russian Studies Institute for American students to concentrate on Russian language, culture and society. Since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, reports from some 30 national commissions, 165 state-level task forces, legislation and programs in 35 states, and extensive media coverage have "probed, diagnosed and dissected our national educational system and educators," according to J. David Edwards and Melinda E. Hanisch, of the Joint National Committee for Languages. According to Richard Brod, all these initiatives hold positive implications for the future of language and area studies in the United States.

## Joint Efforts

The Final Act's provision to "encourage co-operation between institutions concerned, on a bilateral or multilateral basis, aimed at exploiting more fully the resources of modern educational technology in language teaching," included several commitments: to exchange language training personnel and material, to facilitate comparative studies of foreign language instruction, and to organize student groups for foreign language study at all academic levels. Although a few important language training programs for Russian and Polish predate the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, clearly since 1975, American teachers have been able to improve the quality of both Russian and Polish language teaching in the United States. Several developments, both at home and abroad, contributed to this improvement, including the creation of many Polish and Russian language summer and year-abroad programs, and the publication of Russian and Polish language textbooks, which present new opportunities for intensive student and faculty language training.

## Russian Language Training

The Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), a consortium of 28 colleges and universities in the United States, has maintained relations with Soviet academic institutions since the signing of the first bilateral U.S. agreement with the Soviet Union in 1958. That summer, the first groups of Soviet and American students participated in short term educational tours of each other's country. In the summer of 1966, CIEE administered the first Comparative Russian Language Program with 90 participants at Moscow State University and, thereafter, the program has been housed at Leningrad State University. CIEE offers a curriculum of extensive language training in addition to a series of lectures and field trips with American faculty specialists accompanying student groups to Leningrad. In total, 3,712 students have participated in the summer, semester, and year-long programs since the Cooperative Russian Language Program began and 961 Soviet students have matriculated at U.S. universities under the CIEE program.

In 1974, Soviet administrators tried to transfer the semester abroad program from the Leningrad campus to the Pushkin Institute in Moscow. This was part of an attempt to consolidate Russian language study at one location. To illustrate one of the many benefits of the Helsinki Final Act in the realm of educational exchanges, the American participants, with the support of Leningrad State University, issued a protest to the Soviet Embassy in Washington. According to Nancy Ewing, assistant director of CIEE, the newly-signed Helsinki Final Act gave credibility to their protest. The Soviet authorities finally ceded to their demands and the program has remained at the Leningrad campus ever since.

In addition since 1979, CIEE has supervised a joint textbook project designed for third and fourth-year students of Russian. Soviet and American scholars meet annually at Leningrad State University to assess information gathered for submission in this on-going project. Materials have already been tested on third-year students at Indiana University and the University of Minnesota.

In 1974, a highly successful conference on the Russian language led to the formation of the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR), a coalition of Russian language teachers that maintains extensive bilateral contacts and conducts exchanges with the Moscow's Pushkin Institute, the primary center in the Soviet Union for Russian language training and research. The ACTR-Pushkin Institute exchange was organized in 1975 and 1976. On September 1, 1975, an exchange of letters officially inaugurated the program and the Helsinki Final Act's political sanction of educational exchanges figured principally in that arrangement. According to the director of ACTR, Professor Dan Davidson, the Helsinki Final Act has been "an invokable document." As a mandate for contacts and exchanges, both U.S. and Soviet educational administrators are able to defend their programs by invoking the Helsinki Agreement as a legitimizing force for creating, and inevitably expanding, their cooperative programs. In the words of Professor Davidson, the Helsinki Final Act contains the kind of "recognition power" in the Soviet Union that is still strongly articulated.

The ACTR-Pushkin Institute exchange has steadily expanded in the wake of the the Helsinki Final Act. From its first season in the spring of 1976, when 19 advanced undergraduates and postgraduate students traveled to the Pushkin Institute, the program more than doubled to incorporate 44 students for the fall of 1976. In a steady growth pattern, the ACTR-Pushkin Institute exchange sponsored 119 scholars in the academic year 1983-1984, and 128 scholars are projected for the 1984-1985 academic year. To further illustrate the rising interest in foreign language studies, ACTR's applicant pool has also risen dramatically. In addition, one to two Russian language instructors from the Soviet Union annually travel to the United States to teach and research at the ACTR consortium.

Moreover, the International Asssociation of Teachers of Russian Language and Literature (MAPRIAL) first officially received ACTR as a constituent member during a June 1975 executive meeting. In August 1976, ACTR first participated in MAPRIAL's International Congress of Russianists, held that year in Warsaw. ACTR represented America's Russian teachers at MAPRIAL'S Congresses in East Berlin in August 1979 and in Prague in August 1982. These congresses bring together 2,000 to 3,000 Russian language specialists from all over the world.

Yet another example of joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. cooperation to improve the quality of foreign language instruction occurred when ACTR hosted the second "Soviet-American Conference on the Russian Language" during September 1981 at the campuses of the University of Maryland, Northwestern University, and the University of California in Los Angeles. In the most extensive meeting of its kind to be held in North America, more than 450 Russian language teachers from 14 countries, including representatives from Eastern Europe, delivered a total of 125 papers. Soviet specialists also led workshops for American teachers at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, at George Mason University in Virginia, and visited Russian classes at Princeton High School in Cincinnati and at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania.

Also sponsored by ACTR and the Pushkin Institute, a joint U.S.-Soviet textbook on teaching introductory Russian to college level students, entitled Russian: Stage One, was first published in 1980. The second edition of this work, at use in some 70 colleges in the United States, was released in 1982. Due to the successful collaboration on this first joint effort, which has integrated the use of audio tapes and computer-assisted modules for language instruction, Russian: Stage Two will be published in 1985.

In April 1977, Ohio State University opened its "Academic Quarter" at the Pushkin Institute and, since September 1977, Middlebury College in Vermont has conducted a semester-length program at the Pushkin Institute on teaching Russian as a foreign language. Each semester, approximately 15 students from Middlebury College travel to the Pushkin Institute in Moscow.

On May 5, 1977, Bryn Mawr's Russian Language Institute concluded an agreement with the Pushkin Institute for the development and consolidation of cooperation in the study and teaching of Russian. The agreement, which has been renewed every two years since 1977, calls for an exchange of materials, tapes, and personnel to train Bryn Mawr students, as well as pre-college and college-level instructors. This agreement has resulted in summer workshops, training courses, joint textbook collaboration, and conferences among Soviet and American faculty. In addition, two Soviet teachers sponsor courses at the American-based Russian Language Institute, and two American language instructors research each summer at the Pushkin Institute in Moscow. Another example of implementation of the Final Act's recommendation to "encourage cooperation among experts in the field of lexicography with the aim of defining the necessary terminological equivalents, particularly in the scientific and technical disciplines" is the two-week intensive seminar on Russian for technical translation and commercial transactions at the Russian Language Institute held from July 10-12, 1980. This meeting focused on techniques for the acquisition of technical vocabulary. The first Bryn Mawr group of undergraduate students departed in June 28, 1981 for a five-week intensive language training program at the Pushkin Institute.

During the 1980-1981 academic year, according to Professor Kenneth Nabilow, Chairman of Russian and East European Area Studies at the University of Vermont, 15 students from the University of Vermont-University of New Hampshire Consortium first participated in the "Associated Programs in Leningrad" (APL), taking intensive language instruction for two to six weeks at Leningrad State University.

## Polish Language Training

A large Polish-American population maintains an active interest in pursuing studies in Polish language and culture and, as a result, several American universities sponsor summer and semester language training courses. Since 1974, the University of Florida has sponsored a summer session in Poland to provide intensive Polish language instruction. Anywhere from five to 28 Americans participate annually in this summer program.

Since 1974, the State University of New York (SUNY) has sponsored a summer language program at the University of Wroclaw, enabling 16 students from SUNY to participate during the first summer. Also, in the program's nascent stage, six Polish post-graduate students came to the State University of New York for the academic year. The success of the initial exchange led to the drafting of specific agreements between the Universities of Wroclaw and Poznan and SUNY at Stony Brook, which acts as the coordinating campus for the exchange program. This occurred in June 1975, when the president of Stony Brook was invited by the Rector of the University of Wroclaw to receive an honorary degree and to sign the exchange agreement between the two universities.

During the summer of 1975, the program expanded to include 27 students in the summer language program, while 20 students enrolled in the academic programs at the Universities of Wroclaw, Warsaw, and Gdansk. As part of this exchange, ten faculty scholars from Poland were provided with stipends from Stony Brook to study for the academic year at SUNY campuses, while eight scholars were chosen by the Polish Ministry of Culture to visit Stony Brook to study for short periods of time. In the 1976-1977 academic year, 20 students participated in the University of Wroclaw Summer Language and Culture Program, and 11 students remained for the academic year while four Polish faculty studied at the SUNY campuses. In the 1977-1978 academic period, 18 students participated in the summer program, and nine remained to pursue studies in Wroclaw and Warsaw and nine junior faculty from Poland visited SUNY during the academic year. In the 1978-1979 academic year, 16 students traveled to Poland during the summer, 12 students studied during the academic year, and nine Polish academics pursued research at SUNY. In the 1979-1980 academic year, 18 students enrolled in Wroclaw during the summer and 16 studied during the academic year at several institutions in Poland.

Under an agreement reached in October 1979 between Jagiellonian University in Krakow and Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, ten to 12 students each summer pursue coursework on Polish language and culture at Jagiellonian. In addition, one Polish language instructor from the Krakow campus teaches Polish to the students at Wayne State. Both universities have also collaborated on a textbook of the Polish language, which is projected for publication in Poland and distribution in the United States during the academic year of 1984-1985.

## Other East European Language Training

After 1975, the government-to-government bilateral exchange agreements with Bulgaria and Hungary authorized new funding for the study of foreign languages. The official program of U.S.-Bulgarian exchanges for 1979-1980 authorized an annual exchange of two American and two Bulgarian university lecturers in language and literature. The protocol to the 1979 U.S.-Hungarian exchange agreement also included a reciprocal exchange among university lecturers in language and civilization.

In 1979, the World Association of Hungarians, a subdivision of the Hungarian Ministry of Culture, and the State of Louisiana agreed to send Hungarian language teachers to the United States to teach Hungarian-born Americans the Hungarian language in public elementary schools. Each year since 1979, another class has been added to the language studies program.

## European Efforts

Due to historical and geographical considerations, the study of foreign language is much more prevalent in Western Europe than in the United States. This study, of course, predates the Helsinki Final Act although several Western signatories have observed that interest in the study of their national language in Eastern Europe has increased since 1975.

For example, according to Austrian officials, "the possibilities for the study of German have improved considerably in secondary schools as well as at the university level in the People's Republic of Hungary in recent years." In March 1984, for the first time, approximately 100 Hungarian teachers of German took part in a continuing education course directed by three Austrian university teachers. The Austrians also noted that, in 1982 and 1983, two Austrian specialists in German took part in seminars for Bulgarian teachers of German. The Danish Government told the Commission that the Copenhagen School of Business Administration, Economics and Modern Languages had noted an improvement in the exchange of linguistic information with the German Democratic Republic. A brief sample of some of the bilateral activities taking place in this field in Europe follows.

In September 1979, the Soviet news agency Novosti Press reported that a large group of Armenian language teachers from the United States, France, Italy and Canada had completed a course of advanced training in Yerevan, the capital of the Armenian S.S.R., designed to improve their professional skills.

The first edition of the New Russian Literature almanac, a combined effort by editors from the Soviet Union and Austria was announced by the Institute for Slavic Languages and Literature at the University of Salzburg in December 1979. According to news reports, the almanac is devoted to a variety of Russian and Soviet topics and published in both Russian and German.

In February 1980, the University of Vienna's languages department organized an evening devoted to the Romanian poet Mihai Eminescu, on the anniversary of the poet's 130th birthday. A visiting Romanian professor addressed the assembly and students recited Eminescu's poetry in Romanian and German.

In June 1980, Novosti Press reported on the level of Dutch language instruction in the Soviet Union in several Soviet universities and noted that Russian language programs were conducted at a number of leading Dutch institutes of higher learning.

In Warsaw, the Austrian Embassy regularly conducts German language courses for Polish students. According to a September 1980 report in Die Presse, the embassy noted a four-fold increase in the number of students interested in the course since 1979, up to 1,000 students at the time the report appeared.

The Bulgarian Telegraph Agency, in a June 1981 report on Bulgarian language studies abroad, noted that while lectureships in Bulgarian have existed for many years in some European institutes of higher learning, the past few years had seen initiation of lectureships in many Western universities. Specifically named were the University of California at Los Angeles, University of Washington at Seattle, Saarbrucken in the Federal Republic of Germany, with individual courses offered at universities in Pisa and Florence in Italy.

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*U.S. House of Representatives*
*Washington, D.C. 20515*

# SOURCE LIST

In addition to the valuable submissions from West European governments, the Commission relied on a number of sources, both governmental and private, to compile the information contained in this report. Following is a listing, in alphabetical order, of those organizations who supplied the Commission staff with materials, information and advice or whose publications were utilized by the Commission staff in its research. Numerous offices and individuals in several organizations and U.S. Government agencies, particularly the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency and the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, were helpful. For the sake of brevity, only the parent organization is listed here. Specific publications are occasionally cited; for the most part, however, the Commission staff used several publications and reports from an organization. The Commission staff regrets any omissions from this listing and is grateful to all those who cooperated in the project.

# ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS

AFS International, New York

Academy of Motion Pictures and Sciences, Beverly Hills

Alliance College, Pennsylvania

American Arbitration Association, Washington, D.C.

American Bar Association, Chicago

American Booksellers Association, New York

American Broadcasting System, New York

American Conservatory Theater, San Francisco

American Council for Teaching Foreign Languages, New York

American Council of Teachers of Russian, Bryn Mawr, PA.

American Historical Association, Washington, D.C.

American Hungarian Educators Association, Silver Spring, MD

American Library Association, Chicago

American Society of Newspaper Editors, Reston, VA

Arena Stage, Washington, D.C.

Association for Respect of the Helsinki Final Act, Paris

Association of American Publishers, New York

Athletes United for Peace, Lawrence, KS

Baptist World Alliance, Washington, D.C.

Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Montreat, NC

Brown University, Rhode Island.

Buckingham, Browne and Nichols School, Cambridge, MA

Business International Corporation, Washington, D.C.

Center for International Education, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C.

Chamber of Commerce of U.S.A., Washington, D.C.

Circle Repertory Theater, New York.

Citizen Exchange Council, New York,

Cocteau Repertory Theatre, New York

Columbia Broadcasting System, New York

Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress,
Washington, D.C.

Congressional Travel and Tourism Caucus, Washington, D.C.

Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Washington, D.C.

Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

Council of International Educational Exchange, New York

Duquesne University, Pittsburgh

East-West Institute, The Hague

Esalen Institute for Soviet-American Exchange, San Francisco

Eugene O'Neill Memorial Center, New York

Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania

Forum for U.S.-Soviet Dialogue, Amherst, NH

Freedom Federation, Committee on International Broadcasting,
Washington, D.C.

Future Farmers of America, Alexandria, VA

George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York

Indiana University, Bloomington

Institute for East European Studies, Columbia University,
New York

Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan

Institute for Soviet-American Relations, Washington, D.C.

Institute for the Promotion of Human Rights, Paris

Institute of Jewish Affairs, London

International Center of Photography, New York

International Chamber of Commerce, Paris

International Friendship League-Pen Pal Project, Boston

International League for Human Rights, Paris

International Research and Exchanges Board, New York

International Theater Institute of the U.S., Inc., New York

Iowa State University

John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress

Joint National Committee for Languages, Washington, D.C.

Kent State University, Ohio

Keston College, Keston, England

Keston College USA, Framingham, MA

Kosciuszko Foundation, New York

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Lock Haven State College, Pennsylvania

Macmillan Publishing Company, New York

Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities,
Michigan State University, East Lansing

Modern Language Association of America, New York

Motion Picture Association of America, Washington, D.C.

Motion Picture Export Association, Washington, D.C.

Museum of Modern Art, New York

National 4-H Council, Chevy Chase, MD

National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C.

National Aeronautic and Space Administration, Washington, D.C.

National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

National Broadcasting System, New York

National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, New York

National Council of Churches, New York

National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies, New York

National Endowment for the Arts, Washington D.C.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.

New England Society of Newspaper Editors, Worcester, MA

Newsweek International, New York

North Atlantic Assembly, Brussels

Ohio State University, Columbus

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris

Peace Links: Women Against Nuclear War, Washington, D.C.

Plenum Publishing Corporation, New York

Portland State University, Portland, Oregon.

Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Public Broadcasting Service, Washington, D.C.

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Washington, D.C. and Munich

Richmond, Yale, Foreign Service Information Officer, Retired

Sister Cities International, Washington, D.C.

Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, Washington, D.C.

State University of New York, Albany

The American Film Institute, Washington, D.C.

The Committee of California Printers and Broadcasters, San Francisco

The Forum Institute, Washington, D.C.

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

U.K. Helsinki Review Group, David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, London

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Department of Energy, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Department of Transportation, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Geological Survey, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

U.S.A. Book Expo, Millwood, NY

UNESCO, Paris

US-USSR Youth Exchange Program, San Francisco

United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva

University of Bridgeport, Connecticut

University of Connecticut

University of Kentucky

University of Lowell, Massachusetts

University of Minnesota

University of Missouri

University of Nebraska

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

University of Pittsburgh

University of Vermont, Burlington

University of Washington, Seattle

University of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.

Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan

YMCA, New York

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